THE LIFE

Of the Learned and Reverend

Dr. *Peter Heylyn*,

CHAPLAIN to

Charles I. and *Charles* II.

MONARCHS of

GREAT BRITAIN.

Written by

GEORGE VERNON, Rector of

Bourton on the Water in *Glocesterſhire*.

Majorum gloria poſteris lumen eſt, neque mala eorum in occulto patitur, Sal. Bell. Jug.

Illum quidem nulla oratio ex animi ſententia lædere poteſt: quippe vera, neceſſe eſt vera prædicet; falſam, vita moreſque illius ſuperant, ibid.

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UMI

To the Worthy and my ever Honored Friends,

HENRY HEYLYN

of *Minſter-Lovel*, Eſq; Nephew;

AND

HENRY HEYLYN

Gentleman, Son, to Dr. *Heylyn*.

I Know no perſons in the Nation, that have a more unqueſtionable right unto theſe Papers, than you; who have not only running in your Veins the Blood, but, which is more material, abiding in your minds the Endowments of the Great Man, whoſe *Life* is now perfected and expoſed to publick view. In which it muſt be acknowledged there is ſufficient matter for an uſeful Hiſtory: And either of you might have named the man, who had been more able to have undertaken

ken the Writing of it than my ſelf; it being a very bold attempt for any one to give an account of the Actions and Sufferings of Dr. *Heylyn*, beſide Dr. *Heylyn*; or at leaſt ſuch an one, who inherits his *Natural*, if not his *Acquired* Accompliſhments, and to whom an *equal*, if not a *double* portion of his Spirit is imparted.

However, 'tis no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, that I have in this Compoſure obey'd your Commands, and in ſome meaſure anſwered your expectations in doing right to the memory of your very learned Anceſtor, if your Friendſhip and Affection did not put a veil upon your Judgments, when you firſt read what I now again offer to your peruſal.

There is little doubt, but in the publication of theſe Papers, the very name of Dr. *Heylyn* will raiſe the Blood, and exaſperate the Paſſions of ſome quarrelſom and unquiet ſpirits, who like Ghoſts and Goblins fight with thoſe that are *dead*, as well as affright

affright others that are *living*. But whatever hard cenſures or harder names the Writer of theſe Papers meets with, 'tis no more than he expects from thoſe who are ſuch enemies unto peace, that notwithſtanding all their pleadings for it, yet their ſouls are ſo connaturaliz'd to turbulency and contention, that rather than have no enemy, they will fall out and fight with their own ſhadows. And who can expect but that the peace and quiet of private men ſhould be ruffled and diſcompoſed by thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it is to embroil a whole Nation? And yet theſe perſons muſt by all means be accounted the *only True Proteſtants*. A name, tho it imports little in it of the poſitive part of Chriſtianity (it being only a rejecting or *proteſting* againſt the abominable Errors and Superſtitions of the *Roman* Church) yet 'tis too honorable a Title to be beſtowed upon many that boaſt of it.

It was in *April*, 1529. when Reformed Chriſtianity obtained the glorious name of *Proteſtantiſm*; which in a ſhort time ſpread it ſelf not only over the *German* Empire, but moſt of the *European* Nations. And here in *England* (eſpecially) it prevailed over Popiſh Darkneſs and Superſtitions by Peaceableneſs, Meekneſs, Modeſty, Humility, Mercifulneſs; and by teaching men to be ſtudious of doing good, and averſe to vice and doing evil. What right then have thoſe to it, who are Turbulent, Contentious, Malicious, Proud, Mercileſs, Wrathful, &c? Why ſhould thoſe be celebrated for zealous *Proteſtants*, who queſtion the Being, and blaſpheme the name of God? Who deny the only Lord that bought them? Who renounce all the Offices and Inſtitutions of Chriſtianity, and whoſe lives are a direct contradiction to all Moral as well as Evangelical Virtues. In a word, why ſhould the *Independents* with ſome other Sects now reaſſume

Sleid. com. l. 6.

aſſume this Renowned Title, when in the days of ihe late *Uſurper* they abſolutely renounced it, calling thoſe, who would not liſt themſelves as members in their Schiſmatical Aſſemblies, *Queen Beſſes Proteſtants?*

The words of the devout *Salvian* are with a little variation applicable unto theſe Profeſſors, *In vobis patitur Chriſtus opprobrium, in vobis patitur lex Proteſtantium maledictum.* The name of *Proteſtancy* which heretofore commanded veneration from ingenuous (tho profeſſed) enemies, is now prophaned and blaſphemed through theſe perſons and ſtinks amongſt *Papiſts* and *Infidels:* either of which Sects do as much deſerve the name of *Catholicks*, as ſome do that of *Proteſtants.* When 'tis beſtowed on them, 'tis only *Titular*, and a meer *nick-name.* They are *Pſeudo-Proteſtants*, as *Papiſts* are *Pſeudo-Catholicks.* Neither is it material what way of Religion is embraced by them; whether *True* or *Falſe, Chriſtian* or *Pagan, Proteſtant* or *Popiſh, any* or *none,* or *all.*

God

God be praiſed, notwithſtanding the great declenſions of true Goodneſs amongſt us, we have many perſons of Eminency and Honor in the Nation, who are not carried away from their Loyalty to their Prince, and Love to the Church by any popular Artifices of thoſe Zealots who lie in wait to deceive unſtable and leſs diſcerning minds. Amongſt whom I heartily rejoyce that both you are in the number; and I ſhall pray to God ever to *continue you in that holy Fellowſhip*, and to preſerve you from the evil of this world, whilſt you remain in it; as alſo to reward you for the many charitable and friendly Offices, which you have expreſſed and conferr'd upon

Gentlemen,

Your moſt devoted and

for ever faithful Servant,

George Vernon.

TO THE READER.

HAD *it not been for the indiscretion of some persons, and the forwardness and ostentation of others, no one had been put to the trouble of reading, or expence of buying a second Impression of Dr.* Heylyn's *Life; this very Account of it having been writ on purpose to be printed with that learned Volume of his works that has been lately collected and exposed to publick Light: wherein the Reader may reap the benefit of being satisfied in various Points, both* Theological *and* Political. *As,* 1. *In the* way *and* manner *of the* Reformation *of the Church of* England; *and that both against the* Papists *who tell us we had too little of the* Pope, *and too much of the* Par-

Parliament; *and againſt the* Genevizers, *who affirm, that we had too little of the People, and too much of the Prince therein.* 2. *In the ſacred Offices of the publick* Liturgy; *wherein is preſented to the Reader a* Hiſtory *of* Liturgies *from the* Patriarchs, Jews, Gentiles *and* Chriſtians; *as alſo an Account of the* Dedication *of Churches, and the* Anniverſary Feaſts *occaſioned thereby.* 3. *In the Churches* Patrimony, *and the Right of the* Clergy *to receive* Tithes *from the People.* 4. *In her* Government; *wherein both from the ſacred Scriptures and Ancient Fathers is evinced by way of* Hiſtorical *Narration, (and matter of Fact cannot be ſo eaſily evaded as bare Logical Argumentation) the Imparity of Miniſters in the Chriſtian Church; the Foundation of which was laid in Epiſcopacy.* 5. *In the* Time *ſet apart for Divine Worſhip; wherein the conſtant Practice of the Church of God from the Creation to the Year* 1635. *is Learnedly and Laborioufly repreſented in that matter.* 6. *In the* Doctrine *of*

the

the Weſtern *Churches, concerning the five Controverted points; an* Hiſtorical *Account of which is given out of the Publick Acts and Monuments, aſwell as the moſt approved Authors in thoſe ſeveral Churches.* 7. *In the Kings* Supreme Dignity *and* Authority *againſt that* Stumbling-block *of Diſobedience and Rebellion, laid by Mr.* Calvin *about the* Ephori *of* Sparta, *the* Tribunes *of* Rome, *and the* Demarchi *of* Athens; *than which Treatiſe few more Rational or Learned have ſeen the light upon that ſubject. And laſtly, in the Biſhops* Right *of* Peerage; *a Treatiſe written in the Year* 1640. *when it was Voted in the Houſe of Lords,* That no Biſhop ſhould be of the Committee for the preparatory Examination of the Earl of *Strafford: this Tract was never before Printed; and as for the reſt that were, they could rarely be met with to be ſold; and thoſe that could, were not to be purchaſed at any ordinary or eaſie rates. And there is no Reaſon, but that the old Books (Learned and uſeful as they are) reprinted,*

ſhould

ſhould meet with as kind reception from the World, as new Books compoſed with leſs judgment out of old ones; unleſs it be that ſome finical Readers will have their fancies gratified by the novelty of a Title Page, even like ſome Ladies that are always affecting new Modes and Faſhions in their Garbs and Garments: And there are Botchers in Books as well as Cloaths, that have the knack to make new ones out of old ones.

I ſhall not attempt to particularize or rectifie either the miſtakes or omiſſions, that are in the Life, *as it ſtands before the collected Treatiſes now ſpecified. The Reader may eaſily diſcern both, by comparing what is there writ, with the Memorials now publiſhed. In which, I have made uſe of no materials out of the Printed* Folio, *except theſe two, viz. The charitable zeal which the* Doctor *exerted in ſaving the Pariſh-Church of St.* Nicholas *in* Abingdon *from being laid even with the ground, and the Dream that he had immediately before his fatal Sickneſs: neither of which came unto my knowledg*

knowledg before I met with them before the Collection, *And I hope he that favoured the World with the publication of them will pardon my presumption; since what I have made use of, tends to the adorning of the memory of so near a Relation; and since also many more particular passages were excerpted out of my Papers (the very words as well as matter) when he had them in his Custody; as any Reader may easily discern, who will be at the pains of comparing the Life now Published, with what is extant before the* Keimelia Ecclesiastica.

The truth is, though I did with some unwillingness and regret undertake the writing of what is here offered to the World, yet I was the more easily induced to it, not only out of Reverence to the memory of a right Learned man, and the honour that I owe to some of his neareſt Relatives; but also from those black Clouds of darkness, which have of late threatned our publick Peace and Common Interests; deeming that it would be beneficial unto my self, and not unacceptable

table unto Loyal English-men (*especially those of the Clergy*) *if their minds were fortified with Courage and Resolution to suffer and submit unto the Will of God in the times that might happen, by calling to remembrance what others have done in the days that are past. For God does not only* know the Frame *of our Bodies, that they are* dust, *but the temper of our minds,* viz. *how averse they are to exercise patience under heavy Persecutions, and how unable to contend with the infelicity of an unrighteous World, unless he did now and then represent unto our view some fresh example of his righteous servants, who by their faith and patience, have beat out a path and made the way plain before us. And whoever reads over the following Account given of Dr.* Heylyn, *will find few of his Quality and Profession, who survived the fury of that storm that was raised in the Unnatural War, and who brought their Vessel to safe shore and landing at the last, that endured more numerous and violent* Hurricanes, *than he did. And what*

what can be more ſeaſonable or advantageous againſt that λιποψυμία, *that languiſhing and faintneſs of ſpirit which may poſſibly ſeize on us under the Croſs, than that being in a tendency to endure and encounter with the like hardſhips, we ſhould arm our ſelves with the ſame Reſolution of mind, as the perſon did, treated of in theſe papers? Perhaps the perſecutions that are here mentioned are not of ſo wide an extent, as to furniſh any one with a* Panoplie *againſt all the Evils, that this inconſtant World may bring upon us, But although they may not in all reſpects parallel thoſe ſufferings which may be our Portion and Lot, yet they may be of that efficacy to mind us of our duty; and to prepare us for the viciſſitudes of Providence, that whenever our* Fiery Tryal *comes, we may not think it* ſtrange *or unuſual; but by ſome preparatory exerciſes of Piety and ſelf-denial we may be mortifying in our ſelves all that ſoftneſs, tenderneſs and effeminacy of temper, which will render Affliction grievous and intollearable to us. The*

bleſſed

bleſſed Apoſtle acquaints us what good effect his paſſive fortitude produced in ſome new Converts to Chriſtianity, when they became poſſeſſed of the very ſame zeal and conſtancy as he had; for waxing confident by his bonds, they were much more bold to ſpeak the word without fear, *Phil.* 1. 14. *God be praiſed, as yet we have no ſharper perſecutions to exerciſe our Chriſtian Vertues, than what have befallen the holieſt Chriſtians in the moſt flouriſhing Condition of the Church. The Sun ſhines upon our Tabernacles, and notwithſtanding all the outcries about* Property *and* Liberty, *yet there is no ſuch irruption into either, as to occaſion* complaining in our ſtreets. *But we know not how ſoon our Fate may be the ſame with Dr.* Heylyn's; *to be brought before the* Rulers of the darkneſs of this World *for the ſake of the Chriſtian Righteouſneſs. And whenever 'tis our lot, it concerns us to behave our ſelves with that Faith and Courage, that we neither violate the Oaths we have taken, nor diſgrace the Religion we profeſs,*

nor

nor forfeit the happineſs we hope for and expect. We ſee with our eyes, or hear with our ears, with what reſolution men ſuffer for evil doing. And if a natural Sturdineſs or Fool-hardineſs does ſuſtain the ſpirits of men againſt the Terrors of a violent Death, notwithſtanding thoſe black guilts of Schiſm, Faction, Sedition, Treaſon, Murther, &c. *which lye upon their conſciences; What a diſgrace will it be unto our profeſſion, for us to be* weary and faint in our minds, *when any external evils or dangers make diſquieting impreſſions on them? And there is no better way for us to prevent that diſhonour, than by* looking unto Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of our Faith, and by taking thoſe who have ſpoken in his Name for an example of ſuffering Affliction and of Patience, *Jam.* 5. 10.

But although Dr. Heylyn ſpoke in Name of the Lord, *yet few will be prevailed with to take him for a pattern in ſuffering perſecution, who believe thoſe black Characters, that have been of late given him by ſome of the Writers of this*

preſent Age. And amongſt the reſt, 'tis matter of juſt wonder that Mr. Baxter, *who writes ſo frequently of Death and Judgment, and the account that muſt be given of all the* hard ſpeeches *that are either ſpoke or writ againſt his Fellow-Chriſtians, ſhould not be deſirous to leave the troubleſome ſtage of this world in a peaceable and calm temper, and let thoſe ſleep quietly in their Graves, whom he* * wiſh'd he had let alone, *when alive; and unto whoſe learned labors he has not vouchſafed to return one word of Anſwer for above theſe two and twenty years. And yet ſo it is, that in his* Preface *to the* Abridgment *of Church-Hiſtory he repreſents Dr.* Heylyn *to be a man of* a malicious and bloody ſtrain, *and one who* ſpake of blood with pleaſure, thirſting after more, *&c. I ſhall ſay little of that Book of Mr.* Baxters, *underſtanding that it is taken into conſideration by another hand. But this I will not be afraid to affirm, that if an impartial Pagan were to paſs his*

* So he did in a Letter to Dr. *Heylyn.*

his judgment upon Christianity from those matters of Fact, that are recorded in the Abridgment, *he would look upon it with a more uncharitable eye than Mr.* Baxter *does upon Dr.* Heylyn; *and conclude it the most horrid Imposture in the world. For what kind of Religion and Church was that, which had little or nothing but Covetousness, Ambition, Oppression, Simony, Anarchy, Tyranny, Cruelty,* &c. *prevailing in it for so many centuries of years, and no persons or conventions of men that had Wisdom and Power all that while to manage its affairs and concerns, and to put it into any Apostolical or tolerable Order, till an* Army-Black-Coat, *who first almost dreined his Veins of their Blood against his Prince, and then courted and caress'd a Tyrant and Usurper; and since that time has been employing his Spleen against the Church; I say, till such an one arose in the world, and in affront to all the laws of Modesty and good Manners, first prescribed a Platform of Civil Polity or* Holy-Commonwealth *to the State, and then Rules of Government*

or Polity to the Church, which ſhould bind all Chriſtians, and be a Standard to all Superiors? Let but any one ſeriouſly peruſe the Abridgment, *and then judg, whether* Herod *endeavoured with more malice to ſuppreſs the Genealogies of the* Jewiſh *Nation (and eſpecially thoſe of the Royal Family) that he himſelf might reign with more ſecurity, than Mr.* Baxter *has done, in throwing dirt upon Antiquity: whereas a Divine, of all men in the World ought to be very tender, how he expoſed the Nakedneſs of the Ancient Fathers, leſt he thereby expoſed Chriſtianity it ſelf to ſcorn and contempt. And we do not live in ſuch an Age of piety and modeſty, but that ſome men would be very glad from the* Abridgment *(if they had patience to read it) to fix the like Infamy upon the Chriſtian Faith, as* Cham *did when he proclaimed the Nakedneſs of his Aged Father.*

For my own part I never had the Honour either to know Dr. Heylyn, *or to be known by him. But thoſe who were his Familiars repreſent him to be one of a*

tender

tender compaſſionate Spirit, and that few men put a more candid conſtruction upon Perſons and Actions, than he did. 'Tis true, he writ of a bloody Sect; but with a purpoſe to prevent the ſhedding of more Blood. He vindicated the Monarchy *and* Hierarchy *from the Calumnies of that Faction, that was and is the implacable and ſworn enemy of both. And for this the Aſhes of his Grave muſt be diſturbed by one, who (as* Tullie *ſpeaks)* does not conſider but caſt Lots in writing Books, *and whoſe voluminous Treatiſes are no more to be compared with the Learned Writers of this Church, than the ſtuff of* Kiderminſter *is to be valued at the ſame rate with the beſt* Arras.

Dr. Heylyn *was no more a Man of Blood, than St.* Paul *was a* Mover of Sedition. *And if he had, 'tis to be hoped, he might have been as well Canonized for fighting for his Prince, as ſome others are celebrated for* Saints *in the* Everlaſting Reſt, *who died in the very Act of Rebellion againſt him. But 'tis no new thing for thoſe who cut a purſe, to cry ſtop the Thief.*

Mr. Baxter *may be pleaſed to call to mind, what was done to one Major* Jenning *the laſt War, in that Fight that was between* Lynſel *and* Longford *in the County of* Salop; *where the Kings Party having unfortunately the worſt of the day, the poor Major was ſtript almoſt naked and left for dead in the Field. But Mr.* Baxter *and one Lieutenant* Hurdman *taking their walk among the wounded and dead Bodies, perceived ſome Life left in the Major, and* Hurdman *run him through the Body in cold blood; Mr.* Baxter *all the while looking on, and taking off with his own hand the Kings Picture from about his Neck; telling him, as he was ſwimming in his gore, That* he was a Popiſh Rogue, and that was his Crucifix. *Which Picture was kept by Mr.* Baxter *for many years, till it was got from him (but not without much difficulty) by one Mr.* Summerfield, *who then lived with Sir* Thomas Rouſe, *and generouſly reſtored it to the poor man, now alive at* Wick *near* Parſhore *in* Worceſterſhire, *although at the Fight ſuppoſed*

posed to be dead; being, after the wounds given him, dragg'd up and down the Field by the mercileſs Soldiers, Mr. Baxter *approving of the Inhumanity, by feeding his eyes with ſo bloody and barbarous a ſpectacle.*

I *Thomas Jennings* ſubſcribe to the truth of this Narrative above mentioned, and have hereunto put my Hand and Seal, this ſecond day of *March* 168½.

Tho. Jennings.

Signed and Sealed, March 2. 168½. *in the Preſence of*

John Clarke *Miniſter of* Wick,
Thomas Darke.

And now let it be left to the Readers Judgment, who is of a more malicious and bloody ſtrain, *Dr.* Heylyn *or Mr.* Baxter. *Whatever ill opinion the Doctor gained in the World, was for the ſervice which he did for his King, his Country and the Church. And it need not be told*

told who ſays, Nemo pluris æſtimat virtutem, quam qui boni viri famam perdidit, ne conſcientiam perderet; *i.e. He puts the beſt value upon virtue, who to preſerve the Integrity and Peace of his Conſcience ſacrifices the endearments of his Reputation.*

ERRATA *in the Preface.*

PAge 3. line penult, dele *the*, p.7. l.antep. for *tender*, r. *tenderneſs.*

In the Life.

Page 41. l.23. r. *Bounty deſigned and Mr.*—p. 60. l.3. r. *Geneva*, p 92. l.12. for *Jury*, r. *Squire*, p.100. l.16. r. *Reader*, p.118. l.ult r. *Rallery*, p.119. l.12. r. *ſome few others*, — p.120. l.16. r. *Bodmin*, p.137. l.16. r. *ejecting*, p.169 r. *Warrant*, p.220. l.1. for *in*, r. *upon*, p.249. l.12. for *that*, r. *may paſs* — p.262. l.5. dele *and*, & r. *God Almighties wiſe* — p.263. l.9. r. *man*, for *men*, p.268. l.11. for *acutum*, r. *oculatum*, p.269. l.23. for *lips*, r. *luſts*, p.287. l.13. for *partialis*, r. *Paritatis.*

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THE LIFE OF Dr. *Peter Heylyn.*

IF any Augury or Conjecture could be made of the Course and Fortune of Mens Lives by the Calculation of their Nativity, the Birth of Dr. *Peter Heylyn*, according to the Rules of our Astrologers, presaged firm Constitution of Body, and prosperous Success in the Civil Affairs of Humane Life. For it was *Novemb.* 29. 1599. at *Burford*, in the County of *Oxon*, between Eight and Nine in the Morning. At which time the Sun

was in the *Horoſcope* of his Nativity, and the *Houſes* very well diſpoſed. But our *Almanack* Prognoſtications about Weather, &c. ſhew what inconſiderable Influence the Stars have upon the inanimate part of the Creation, much leſs upon free and diſcerning Agents; eſpecially upon men Wiſe and Learned: For Wiſdom has an Empire over Stars and Conſtellations, according to that Adagy,

Ἄνδρα σοφὸν τῶν φρενῶν κανδίζανται.

And this Reverend Man was in this particular fortunate, that he had the honor to carry the mark of the Croſs, which was imprinted on him at the Font, through the moſt conſiderable part of his Pilgrimage; having frequent opportunities in Suffering for a Righteous Cauſe, to manifeſt his Paſſive, as well as his Active Courage; as will ſufficiently appear in the ſubſequent Circumſtances and Account of his Life.

He

He was the ſecond Son of *Henry Heylyn*, Gentleman, deſcended from the Antient Family of the *Heylyns* of *Pentre-Heylyn* in *Montgomery-ſhire*, then part of *Powes-land*; from the Princes whereof they were derived, and unto whom they were Hereditary *Cup-Bearers*: For ſo the word *Heylyn* doth ſignifie in the *Welſh* or *Britiſh* Language. After which Office, they were in great Authority with the Princes of *North-Wales*; as plainly appears from *Llewellyn*, the laſt Prince of that Country, who made choice of *Grono-Ap-Heylyn* to Treat with the Commiſſioners of *Edward* the Firſt, King of *England*, for the Concluding of a full and final Peace between them. And *Pentre-Heylyn* continued the Seat of this Antient Family till about the Year 1637. at which time *Rowland Heylyn*, Alderman and Sheriff of *London*, and Couſin-German to our Doctors Father, dying without Iſſue-Male, the Seat was transferred to another Family, into which ſome of the Heireſ-

ſes were Married: But the Doctor deſign'd to repurchaſe it, and had infallibly effected it, had not Death prevented the Execution of his Purpoſe.

His Mother was *Elizabeth Clampard*, Daughter of *Francis Clampard* of *Wrotham* in *Kent*, Gentleman, and of *Mary Dodge* his Wife; Deſcended in a direct Line from that *Peter Dodge* of *Stopworth* in *Cheſhire*, unto whom King *Edward* the Firſt gave the *Seigneury* or Lordſhip of *Padenhugh* in the Barony of *Coldingham* in the Realm of *Scotland*, as well for the eſpecial Services done by him in the Sieges of *Barwick* and *Dunbar*, as his Valour ſhew'd in divers Battels; *Encontre ſon grand Enemy & Rebelle le Baillol Roy d'Eſcoce & Vaſſal d'Angleterre*, as the words are in the Original Charter of Arms, given to the ſaid *Peter Dodge* by *Guyen* King of *Arms* at the ſaid Kings Command, dated *April* 8. in the 34th. year of King *Edward* the Firſt. Neither is this unworthy of obſervation, that one of the Deſcendents from the ſaid *Peter Dodge*

Dodge was Uncle to Doctor *Heylyn*'s Mother, and gave the *Mannor* of *Lechlade* in *Glocesterſhire*, worth 1400 *l. per ann.* to *Robert Bathurſt* Eſq; Uncle to our Reverend Doctor, and Grand-Father to that honeſt and modeſt Gentleman Sir *Edward Bathurſt* Baronet, now living.

In the ſixth year of his Age, he was committed to the Tuition of Maſter *North*, School-Maſter of *Burford*; under whoſe Inſtructions he ſo well profited, that in a ſhort time he was able to make true *Latine*: and his Improvements were ſo very conſiderable, that in a little ſpace after he was advanc'd a Form higher than his Fellows; with which he kept pace and arrived to the ability of making Verſes: to which excellency, together with Hiſtory, his *Genius* did ſo naturally incline him, that at the Age of ten years he framed a Story in Verſe and Proſe upon a ludicrous Subject, of which he himſelf was Spectator. And he Compoſed it in imitation of the *Hiſtory of the Deſtructi-*

on of Troy, and ſome other Books of Chivalry, upon which he was then very ſtudious and intent. The Story was exceedingly prized by his School-Fellows, and afterward by one Maſter *Hinton*, Fellow of *Merton-College*, unto whom it was communicated by his Father. And I preſume to ſpecifie it as an Argument of the prodigious pregnancy of thoſe Endowments which God had beſtowed upon him. For he may truly be accounted one of the *Præcoces Fructus*, the forward Fruits of his time, that was ſoon ripe, and contrary to the Proverb, of a laſting duration. It may be truly affirmed of him, as once of *Lipſius*, *Ingenium habuit docile, & omnium capax: Memoria non ſine præceptorum miraculo (etiam in puero) quæ ſenectute non defecit.*

But his proficiency in Letters was very much retarded by a Diſtemper that ſeized on his Head; the Cure of which was not effected under the ſpace of two years; and therefore occaſion'd great

great loſs of time, as well as infinite pain and torture of Body to one ſo young and tender. For by reaſon of the unskilfulneſs of Country Empericks who firſt undertook him, the Fleſh in the fore-part of his Head rotted to the Skull, where never any Hair came afterward. And the Diſtemper again returning upon him as the Fleſh grew up, he was in the 13th. year of his Age ſent to *London* by his Father, to be under the Cure of Dr. *Turner* (Huſband to that Gentlewoman that had a hand in the Death of Sir *Tho. Overbury*) who keeping him to a ſtrict Diet and frequent Sweatings, ſent him back into the Country after four Months time. But his Diſtemper again returning, he was fain once more to apply himſelf unto his old Doctor, before a Cure could be completed.

Upon his return to *Burford*, he found his old Maſter dead, and was committed to the Care of a Succeſſor, *viz.* Mr. *Davis*, a Reverend good man; who notwithſtanding his long diſcon-

tinuance from School, found his Scholar not to have miſ-ſpent or miſ-employed any time, that gave him the leaſt Relaxation from his Diſtemper, and therefore placed him *Third* in the uppermoſt Form. Mr. *Davis* ſpared no diligence that might tend to the cultivating of a Plant ſo flouriſhing and hopeful, making him fit for the Univerſity by having him but twelve Months under his Tuition: A kindneſs ſo gratefully reſented by our Doctor, that he dedicated to him one of his Books, called *Eccleſia Vindicata*; and had it not been for the misfortune of the War, had given better Teſtimonies of a thankful and generous mind in preferring him to ſome conſiderable Benefice or Dignity in the Church.

He was the beginning of *December*, 1613. in the 14th. year of his Age ſent to *Oxford*, and placed under the Tuition of Mr. *Joſeph Hill*, an antient Batchelor in Divinity, once one of the Fellows of *Corpus Chriſti College*, but then Commoner of *Hart-Hall*; by whom

whom Mr. *Walter Newberry* (afterward a zealous Puritan) was made choice of to inſtruct him in *Logick*, and other Academical Studies, as far as the tenderneſs of his Age rendred him capable. And he made ſuch progreſs in them, that upon the 22d. of *July*, 1614. he ſtood Candidate for a *Demies* place in *Magdalen College*, having no other Recommendations than Sir *John Walters*, then *Attorney General* to the Prince, and afterward Lord Chief *Baron* of the *Exchequer*, Grand-Father to that worthy Gentleman Sir *William Walter* now of *Sarſden* in the County of *Oxford*, Baronet. Dr. *Langton*, Preſident of the College, put Mr. *Heylyn* the *Eighth* upon the Roll; which was the firſt place of the ſecond Courſe; but it ſucceeded not till the year following, being then Elected *Firſt* upon the Roll, and having very much endeared himſelf to the Preſident and Fellows by a facetious *Latine* Poem upon a Journey that he made with his two Tutors, unto *Woodſtock*.

But

But immediately after his admiſſion into that noble Foundation, he fell into a Conſumption, which conſtrained him to retire to his Native Air, where he continued till *Chriſtmas* following. He was a year after his Admiſſion made *Impoſitor* of the Hall; in which Office he acquitted himſelf with ſo much Fidelity, that the College-Dean continued him longer in it, than any ever before; by which means he contracted a great deal of Hatred and Enmity from thoſe Students that were of his own ſtanding, being called by them the *Perpetual Dictator*. But he diverted the violence of the Storm by the aſſiduity of his Studies, and particularly by Compoſing an *Engliſh* Tragedy, called *Spurius*; which was ſo well approved of by ſome learned perſons of that Foundation, that the *Preſident* cauſed it to be privately acted in his own Lodgings.

In *July* 1617. he obtained his *Grace* for the degree of *Batchelor of Arts*, but was not Preſented to it till the *October* fol-

following, by reaſon of the abſence of one of his *Seniors*, holding it unworthy to prejudice another perſon for his own Advancement. After the performance of the *Lent*-Exerciſes for his Degree, he fell into a Fever, which increaſing with great violence, at laſt turned into a *Tertian* Ague, and cauſed him again to retreat unto his Countrey Air; which he enjoyed till the middle of *July* following, and then according to the *College* Statutes (which require that Exerciſe to be performed every long Vacation by ſome *Batchelor* of Arts) he began his *Coſmographical* Lectures, and finiſhed them in the end of the next *Auguſt*. His Reading of thoſe Lectures drew the whole Society into a profound admiration of his Learning and Abilities; inſomuch that before he had ended them, he was admitted Fellow upon *Probation*, in the place of one Mr. *Love*. And that he might give a Teſtimony of his grateful mind for ſo unexpected a Favour, he writ a *Latine* Comedy, call'd *Theo-*

Theomachia, which he Compoſed and Tranſcribed in a Fortnights ſpace. On *July* 29. 1619. he was admitted *in verum & perpetuum Socium*; and not long before was made *Moderator* of the *Senior* Form, which he retained above two years: And within that compaſs of time he began to write his *Geography*, accordingly as he deſigned when he Read his *Coſmographic*-Lectures; which Book he finiſh'd in little more than two months, beginning it *Feb.* 22. and completing it the 29th. of *April* following. At the *Act*, *Ann. Dom.* 1620, he was admitted *Maſter of Arts*; the honor of which Degree was the more remarkable, becauſe that very year the Earl of *Pembroke*, Chancellor of the Univerſity, ſignified his pleaſure by ſpecial Letters, that from that time forward, the *Maſters of Arts*, who before ſate bare, ſhould wear their Caps in all *Congregations* and *Convocations*; unto which Act of Grace his Lordſhip was induced by an humble Petition preſented to him by the *Regent Maſters*,

Masters in behalf of themselves and *Non-Regents*; as also by Dr. *Prideaux* then *Vice-Chancellor*, who being pre-acquainted with the business, gave great encouragement to proceed onward in it; and lastly by the indefatigable pains of one Master *Clopton, junior*, of *Corpus-Christi-Colledge*, who was the principal Solicitor in that Affair.

His *Geography* was committed by him to the perusal of some Learned Friends, and being by them well approved, he obtained his Fathers consent for the Printing of it; which was done accordingly, *November* 7. 1621. The first Copy of it was presented by him to King *Charles* the First, then Prince of *Wales*, unto whom he Dedicated it; and by whom, together with its Author, it was very graciously received; being introduced into the Princes Presence by Sir *Robert Carre*, one of the Gentlemen of his Highnesses Bed-Chamber, and since Earl of *Ancram*; unto whose Care Ma-

Maſter *Heylyn* was commended by the Lord *Danvers*, then at *Cornbury* by reaſon of ſome bodily Indiſpoſition. But after this Sun-ſhine of Favour and Honor darted on him by the Prince, there followed a Cloud which darkened all his Joys: for in a few months after, his Father died at *Oxon* with an Ulcer in his Bladder, occaſioned by the Stone, with which he had been for many years grievouſly afflicted: His Body was conveyed to *Lechlade* in *Gloceſterſhire*, where he was buried near his Wife, who died ſix years before him of a Contagious Fever, and lay in the Chancel of that Pariſh-Church.

Septemb. 15. 1622. he received *Confirmation* from the hands of Biſhop *Lake*, in the Pariſh Church of *Wells*; and in a ſhort ſpace after exhibited a *Certificate* to Doctor *Langton* concerning his Age; by which means he obtained a *Diſpenſation*, notwithſtanding any Local Statutes to the contrary, that he ſhould not be compelled to enter

enter into *Holy Orders* till he was Twenty four years of Age, according to the time appointed, both in the *Canons* of the Church, and the *Statutes* of the Realm. And ſuch were his fears to enter upon the Study, as well as undertake the profeſſion of Divinity, that it was not without great Reluctance and Difficulty on his own part, as well as many weighty Arguments and Perſuaſions of a very Learned and Reverend perſon (Mr. *Buckner*) that he applied himſelf unto *Theology*. Thus *Moſes* pleaded his Inability, and notwithſtanding the expreſs command of the Almighty, refuſed to be ſent upon the Divine Embaſſie, perſevering in his unſeaſonable modeſty, till God threatned him with his Anger, as he had before encouraged him with his promiſes. But as the difficulties in Divinity made Mr. *Heylyn* for ſome time to deſiſt, ſo the ſweetneſs and amabilities of that Study allured him to undertake the Profeſſion. And therefore he received the *Orders* of *Deacon* and

Prieſt

Prieſt (but at diſtant times) in St. *Aldates* Church in *Oxon* from the Right Reverend Biſhop *Howſon*. And when he was Ordained *Prieſt*, he Preach'd the Ordination Sermon upon thoſe words of our Bleſſed Saviour to St. *Peter*, Luke 22. 32. *And when thou art converted, ſtrengthen thy Brethren.* What courſe and method he obſerved in his Theological Studies, he tells of with his own Pen; "When "I began my Studies in "Divinity, I thought no "courſe ſo proper and expedient for "me, as the way commended by King "*James* (*which was, that young Students in Divinity ſhould be excited to ſtudy ſuch Books as were moſt agreeable in Doctrine and Diſcipline to the Church of* England, *and to beſtow their time in the Fathers and Councils, Schoolmen, Hiſtories, and Controverſies, and not to inſiſt too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviators, making them the grounds of*

Theol. Vet. Pref. to the Reader.

K. *James* Inſtructions to the Univerſity, *Jan.* 18. 1616.

of their Study) "and opened at the "charges of Biſhop *Montague*, though "not then a Biſhop. For though I had "a good reſpect to the memory of *Lu-* "*ther*, and the name of *Calvin*, as "thoſe whoſe Writings had awakened "all theſe parts of *Europe* out of the ig- "norance and ſuperſtition in which they "ſuffered, yet I always took them to be "men: men as obnoxious unto Error, "as ſubject to humane Frailty, and as "indulgent too unto their own Opini- "ons, as any others whatſoever. The "little knowledge I had gained in the "courſe of Stories, had pre-acquainted "me with the *Fiery Spirit* of the one, and "the *Buſie Humor* of the other; thought "thereupon unfit by Arch-Biſhop "*Cranmer* and others, the chief Agents "in the *Reformation* of this Church, to "be employed as Inſtruments in that "weighty Buſineſs. Nor was I igno- "rant how much they differed ſom us "in their *Doctrinals* and Forms of Go- "vernment. And I was apt enough to "think, that they were no fit *Guides*

" to direct my Judgment in order to " the *Diſcipline* and *Doctrine* of the " Church of *England*; to the eſtabliſh- " ing whereof they were held unuſe- " ful; and who both by their *Practi-* " *ces* and *Poſitions* had declared them- " ſelves Friends to neither.

The *Geography* was in leſs than three years Re-printed; and in this ſecond Edition Enlarged and again Preſented by him to the Prince of *Wales*, and by him received with moſt affectionate Commendations of the Author. But it met with a far different entertainment from K. *James*. For the Book being put into the hands of that learned Monarch by Dr. *Young* Dean of *Winton* (who thereby deſigned nothing elſe but the higheſt kindneſs to Mr. *Heylyn*) the King at firſt expreſſed the great Value he had for the Author: but unfortunately falling on a paſſage, wherein Mr. *Heylyn* gave Precedency to the *French* King, and called *France the more Famous Kingdom*, King *James* became very much offended, and ordered the

Lord

Lord *Keeper* that the Book ſhould be call'd in. The good *Dean* gave notice to Mr. *Heylyn* of his Majeſties Diſpleaſure, adviſing him to repair to *Court*, and to make uſe of the Princes Patronage, as the beſt lenitive to prevent the rankling of this wound, leſt it feſtered and became incurable. But he rather choſe to abide at *Oxon*, acquainting the Lord *Danvers* with the buſineſs, and requeſting his Advice and Interceſſion, and ſending afterward an Apology and Explanation of his meaning to Doctor *Young*, the ſubſtance of which was, "That ſome crimes are of a nature ſo "unjuſtifiable, that they are improved "by an Apology; yet conſidering the "purpoſe he had in thoſe places, which "gave offence to his Sacred Majeſty, "he was unwilling that his Innocence "ſhould be condemn'd for want of an "Advocate: The burthen under "which he ſuffered was rather a mi-"ſtake than a crime, and that miſtake "not his own, but the Printers. For if "in the firſt line of *page* 441. *was* be

" read inſtead of *is*, the ſenſe runs as " he deſign'd it: And this appears from " the words immediately following; " for by them may be gathered the " ſenſe of this corrected reading, *When* Edward *the Third quartered the Arms of* France *and* England, *he gave Precedency to the French; firſt, becauſe* France *was the greater and more famous Kingdom. Secondly, That the French*, &c. " Theſe Reaſons are to be " referr'd to the time of that King, by "whom thoſe Arms were firſt quartered " with the Arms of *England*, and who " deſired by this honor done unto their " Arms to gain upon the good opinion " of that Nation, for the Crown and " Love whereof he was a Suitor. For " at this time (beſides that it may ſeem " ridiculous to uſe a Verb of the pre- " ſent Tenſe in a matter done ſo long " ago) that Reaſon is not of the leaſt " force or conſequence; the French ha- " ving ſo long ſince forgot the Rights " of *England*, and our late Princes claim- " ing nothing but the Title only.

" The

"The place and paſſage ſo corre-
"cted, I hope (ſays Mr. *Heylyn*) I may
"without detraction from the Glory
"of this Nation affirm, That *France* was
"at this time the more famous King-
"dom. Our *Engliſh* Swords for more
"than half the time ſince the *Norman*
"Conqueſt had been turned againſt
"our own Boſoms; and the Wars we
"then made (except ſome fortunate
"Excurſions of King *Edward* the Firſt
"in *France*, and King *Richard* in the
"*Holy Land*) in my conceit were ful-
"ler of Pity than of Honor. For what
"was our Kingdom under the Reign of
"*Edward* the Second, *Henry* the
"Third, *John*, *Stephen* and *Rufus* but
"a publick Theatre, on which the Tra-
"gedies of Blood and civil Diſſentions
"had been continually acted? On the
"other ſide, the *French* had exerciſed
"their Arms with Credit and Renown
"both in *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Egypt*;
"and had much added to the Glory of
"their Name and Nation by Conquer-
"ing the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Si-*

" *cily*, and driving the *Engliſh* them-
" ſelves out of all *France*, *Guyen* only
" excepted. If we look higher, we ſhall
" find *France* to be the firſt Seat of the
" *Weſtern* Empire, and the Force of it
" to be known and felt by the *Saracens*
" in *Spain*, the *Saxons* in *Germany*, and
" the *Lombards* in *Italy*; at which time
" the Valour of the *Engliſh* was impri-
" ſoned in the ſame Seas with their
" Iſland: And therefore *France* was at
" that time, when firſt the Arms were
" quartered, the more famous King-
" dom. 'Tis true indeed, ſince the time
" of thoſe victorious Princes, thoſe
" *Duo Fulmina Belli*, *Edward* the Third
" and the *Black Prince* his Son, the
" Arms of *England* have been exerci-
" ſed in moſt parts of *Europe*. Nor am
" I ignorant how high we ſtand above
" *France* and all other Nations in the
" true fame of our Atchievements.
" *France* it ſelf divers times over-run,
" and once Conquered, the Houſe of
" *Burgundy* upheld from Ruine, the
" *Hollanders* Supported, *Spain* Awed
and

" and the *Ocean* Commanded, are ſuf-
" ficient teſtimonies, that in purſuit of
" Fame and Honor, we had no Equals.
" That I was always of this opinion my
" Book ſpeaks for me (and indeed ſo
" unworthy a perſon needs no better
" an Advocate) in which I have been
" no where wanting to commit to me-
" mory the honorable performances of
" my Countrey. The great *Annaliſt*
" *Baronius* pretending only a true and
" ſincere Hiſtory of the Church, yet
" tells the *Pope* in his Epiſtle Dedicato-
" ry, that he principally did intend
" that work, *pro Sacrarum Traditionum*
" *Antiquitate, & Authoritate Romanæ*
" *Eccleſiæ*. The like may I ſay of my
" ſelf, though not with like imputation
" of Impoſture. I promiſed a Deſcri-
" ption of all the World, and have ac-
" cording to the meaſure of my poor
" Abilities fully performed it: yet
" have I apprehended withal every mo-
" deſt occaſion of enobling and extol-
" ling the Soldiers and Kings of *Eng-*
" *land*. Beſides that I do not now ſpeak

" of *England* as it now ſtands aug-
" mented with, by the happy Additi-
" on of *Scotland*, I had had it from an
" Author, whom in poverty of read-
" ing I conceived above all exception,
" *viz. Cambden Clarencieux*, that gene-
" ral and accompliſh'd Scholar in the
" fifth part of his *Remains*, had ſo in-
" formed me. If there be error in it,
" 'tis not mine but my Authors. The
" Precedency which he there ſpeaks of
" is in *General Councils*. And I do hear-
" tily wiſh it would pleaſe the Lord to
" give ſuch a ſudden Bleſſing to his
" Church, that I might live to ſee Mr.
" *Cambden* Confuted by ſo good an Ar-
" gument as the ſitting of a *General*
" *Council*.

Thus Mr. *Heylyn* was the interpreter of his own words; and by theſe demonſtrations of his integrity, King *James*'s indignation was appeaſed, and his own fears were ended: Only he took care to have theſe offenſive words blotted out of his Book, as the Dean of *Winton* adviſed him.

In

In the year 1625. he took a Journey with Mr. *Levet* of *Lincolns-Inn* into *France*, where he viſited more Cities, and made more Obſervations in the ſpace of five weeks (for he ſtaid there no longer) than many others have done in ſo many years. The particulars of this Journey he put in Writing, and ſome years after gratified his Countrey with the Publication of it, together with ſome other very excellent Remarks made by him, when he attended upon the Earl of *Danby* to the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, *Anno Dom.* 1628. Had King *James* lived to have peruſed that Book, Mr. *Heylyn* had needed no other Advocate to have reſtored him to his Princely Favour and Protection. For never was the Vanity and Levity of the *Monſieurs*, and the Deformity and Sluttiſhneſs of their *Madames* more ingeniouſly expoſed both in Proſe and Verſe, than in the Account that he gives of his Voyage into *France*.

On

On *April* 18. 1627. he oppoſed in the *Divinity-School*, and the 24th. day following he anſwered *pro Forma* upon theſe two Queſtions, *viz.*

An. Eccleſia unquam fuerit inviſibilis?
An Eccleſia poſſit errare?

Both which he determined in the *Negative:* And in ſtating of the firſt, he fell upon a different way from that of Doctor *Prideaux* in his Lecture *de Viſibilitate Eccleſiæ*, and other Tractates of and about that time; in which the viſibility of the Proteſtant Church (and conſequently of the Renowned Church of *England*) was no otherwiſe proved, than by looking for it into the ſcattered Conventicles of the *Berengarians* in *Italy*, the *Waldenſes* in *France*, the *Wickliffs* in *England*, and the *Huſſites* in *Bohemia*; which manner of proceeding not being liked by Mr. *Heylyn*, becauſe it utterly diſcontinued that Succeſſion

Appendix to the *Adv.* on Mr. *Sanderſon's* Hiſtories.

ceſſion in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy*, which the Church of *England* claims from the Apoſtles; he rather choſe to look for a continual Viſible Church in *Aſia*, *Æthiopia*, *Greece*, *Italy*, yea and *Rome* it ſelf; as alſo in all the *Weſtern* Provinces then ſubject to the power of the Popes thereof: And for the proof whereof he ſhewed, 1. That the Church of *England* received no Succeſſion of Doctrine or Government from any of the ſcattered *Conventicles* before remembred. 2. That the *Wickliffes*, together with the reſt (before remembred) held many *Heterodoxies* in Religion, as different from the Eſtabliſh'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as any point that was maintained at that time in the Church of *Rome*. And 3. That the Learned Writers of that Church, and *Bellarmin* himſelf among them have ſtood up as cordially and ſtoutly in maintenance of ſome Fundamental points of the Chriſtian Faith againſt *Socinians*, *Anabaptiſts* and *Anti-Trinitarians*, and other Hereticks

of

of theſe Ages, as any of the Divines and other Learned men of the Proteſtant Churches; which point Mr. *Heylyn* cloſed with theſe words, *viz. Utinam quod ipſe de Calvino, ſic ſemper erraſſet nobiliſſimus Cardinalis.* And this ſo much diſpleaſed the *Doctor of the Chair*, that ſo ſoon as our young Divine had ended his *Determination*, he fell moſt heavily upon him, calling him by the moſt odious names of *Papicola, Bellarminianus, Pontificius*, &c. bitterly complaining to the younger part of his Audients (unto whom he made the greateſt part of his Addreſſes) of the unprofitable pains he had took amongſt them, if *Bellarmin*, whom he had laboured to decry for ſo many years, ſhould now be honored with the Title of *Nobiliſſimus*. The like he did within a few days after (*Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?*) when the *Reſpondent* became *prior Opponent*, loading him with ſo many Reproaches, that he was branded for a *Papiſt* before he underſtood what Popery was. And becauſe this

this Report ſhould not prepoſſeſs the minds of ſome great Perſons, the *Diſputant* went to *London*; and after the Lord *Chamberlain* had ordered him to Preach before the Kings Houſhold, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, took notice of the paſſages that had happened at *Oxford*. But Mr. *Heylyn* told him the ſtory at large, and for a farther teſtimony of his Judgment and Innocency, gave him a Copy of his *Suppoſition*; which, when it was peruſed, the *Diſputant* waited on him, and his Lordſhip made him to ſit down by him, and after enquiry made into the courſe of his Studies, told him, "That his *Suppoſition* was ſtrongly "grounded, and not to be over-thrown "in a fair way of Scholaſtick Argu- "ing, That he would not have him be "diſcouraged by noiſe and clamour. "That he himſelf had in his younger "days maintained the ſame *Poſitions* in "Diſputation in St. *Johns College*, for "which he was much blamed by Arch- "Biſhop *Abbot*, then Vice-Chancellor,

"and

" and made a *By-word* and *Reproach* in " the Univerſity. Finally he exhorted " him to continue in that moderate " courſe, telling him, That as God had " given him more than ordinary Gifts, " ſo he would pray to God that he " might employ them in ſuch a way " and manner, as might make up the " Breaches in the Walls of Chriſten- " dom. The Diſcourſe between them continued for the ſpace of two hours, *Amotis Arbitris*. For he ordered his Servants that no one ſhould come to him on any occaſion before he called.

But this was not all that was done then by our young Divine to ſecure himſelf from the Reproach of a *Papiſt*. For in *November* next following, he Preached before the King on thoſe words, *John* 4. 20. *Our Fathers worſhipped on this Mountain*. In which Sermon he declared himſelf with ſuch warm zeal againſt ſome Errors and Corruptions in the *Roman* Church, that he ſhewed himſelf to be far enough from any inclination to the *Roman* Religion,

But

But his innocency in that matter will be made more apparent in ſome following paſſages of his Life.

Unto one of the moſt principal parts of which the Reader is now invited, *viz.* his Marriage, which was ſo far from being *Clandeſtine* and *Clancular* (as it was objected to him in Print above thirty years after its ſolemnization) that he ordered it to be performed upon St. *Simon* and *Judes* day, between ten and eleven of the Clock in the morning in his own *College-Chappel*, which by his appointment was ſet out with the richeſt Ornaments, in the preſence of a ſufficient number of Witneſſes of both Sexes, according to Law and Practice. The Wedding-Dinner was kept in his own Chamber, ſome Doctors and their Wives, with five or ſix of the Society being invited to it. Mrs. *Bride* was placed at the head of the Table, the Town-Muſick playing, and himſelf waiting moſt part of the Dinner, and no Formality wanting which was accuſtomably required (even to the

the very giving of Gloves) at the moſt ſolemn Wedding. Theſe things are more particularly related, becauſe ſome of his Enemies, having nothing elſe with which they could blaſt his Reputation, were pleaſed to accuſe him of a *Clandeſtine* Marriage, and that he was obliged in Conſcience to reſtore all the Emoluments that he had received from his Fellowſhip between that time and his Reſignation. *But what ſhall be given to thee, or what ſhall be done unto thee, thou falſe tongue?* It ſeems it muſt be injuſtice in Mr. *Heyly* to receive his ſhare of an half-years Dividend, which was uſually allowed to perſons in his circumſtances, but it was no act of unrighteouſneſs in other men to take bread out of the mouths of young Students, and ſend them to wander in ſolitary ways, being *hungry and thirſty, and their ſouls ready to faint in them.* The Ceremony was performed by his faithful and ingenuous friend Dr. *Allibond*; and the perſon that he made choice of for his Wife was

was Mrs. *Lætitia Heygate*, third Daughter of *Thomas Heygate* of *Heys* Esq; one of his Majesties Justices of Peace for the County of *Middlesex* (who in his younger days, whilst his elder Brother was alive, had been *Provost-Marshal-General* of the Army under the Earl of *Essex* at the Action of *Cales*) and of *Margery Skipwith* his Wife, one of the Daughters of——*Skipwith* of—— in the County of *Leicester*, a Family of good note and credit in those parts. Which said *Thomas Heygate* the Father was second Son of that *Thomas Heygate*, who was *Field-Marshal-General* of the *English* Forces before St. *Quintins*, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, *Anno Dom.* 1557. and of——*Stonner* his Wife, a Daughter of the antient Family of the *Stonners* in *Oxfordshire*.

These particulars are set down by our learned Doctor in his little *Manuscript* to this end, *That Posterity might know from what Roots they sprang, and not engage in any thing unworthy their*

Extraction. 'Tis an ineſtimable bleſſing for any one to be well Born and Deſcended, but the preſent guilt and future account of that perſon will be increaſed who blemiſhes and ſtains his Family by unworthy and ill-done actions.

Continuing this time, Mr. *Heylyn* had no very conſiderable ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his new Companion. For the Portion which he was to have by her (being a thouſand pounds) was never paid, many irreparable loſſes and miſ-fortunes happening to her eldeſt Brother, which he was not able to recover, though left by his Father in the poſſeſſion of 800 *l. per Annum.* His Fellowſhip he reſigned, and although he had the Advowſon of *Bradwel*, a very good Living in *Glocesterſhire*, left him by his Father, together with a Rent-charge of Inheritance paid him out of the *Mannor* of *Lechlade*, yet he was conſtrained for a while to wreſtle with ſome neceſſities and frowns of Fortune. He parted with his Title to *Bradwel*, reſol-

reſolving to lay the foundation of his future Felicity in this world by his own honeſt induſtry, and not bury himſelf in the obſcurity of a Rural Life. His noble Friend, the Earl of *Danby*, whom he attended in the quality of a Chaplain to the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey* (his own Chaplains modeſtly refuſing a Voyage which they conceived to be troubleſome and dangerous) was not a little troubled to ſee ſuch extraordinary merits continue ſtill diſcouraged and unrewarded; and therefore out of his generous Nature preſented him to the great Judg and *Mecænas* of Learning, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, then Biſhop of *London*; who making a ſecond and more narrow enquiry into his Temporal concerns, appointed him to meet him Court, which not long after was to remove to *Woodſtock*. But his Lordſhip fell ſick at *Reading*; and Mr. *Heylyn* met with ſome rude uſages in the Kings Chappel, which was talked of the more at *Oxon*, the intereſt he had at Court being univerſally

known in that Univerſity. But it was not very many months after, that power was given him to revenge the Affront, being admitted Chaplain in *Ordinary* to the King, and into great Favour with the *Grandees* of that time. But a ſoul enobled with the principles of Gratitude and Generoſity is as averſe to retaliate, as to do an injury. The firſt perſon therefore, unto whom he paid his thankful Acknowledgments for his honorable Preferment, was the Earl of *Danby*, who preſently told him, "That theſe thanks were not in the "leaſt due unto himſelf, but to the "Lord Biſhop of *London*, unto whoſe "generous and active mind the whole "of that Dignity was to be aſcribed. Upon which hint he attended upon the Biſhop; who after he had wiſh'd him happineſs in his new Preferment, gave him ſome particular Inſtructions for his behaviour in it, which he carefully obſerved the whole time of his Attendance upon the Sacred Perſon of his gracious Maſter.

Ha-

Having thus gained the advantage of this riſing ground, he found out an honeſt Art by which he might recommend himſelf to the Patronage of ſome noble mind; and that was to aſſert the Hiſtory of St. *George*, Patron of the moſt noble *Order* of the *Garter*, *A buſineſs* (as he tells the King in his Epiſtle Dedicatory) *of ſo intricate and involved a nature, that he had no Guide to follow, nor any Path to tread, but what he had made unto himſelf.* Neither had that Task ever come to perfection, had not ſo able an hand undertaken it, whoſe induſtry and abilities were ſuperior to every thing but themſelves. Many enemies the Book met withal, when it came firſt to light. But 'tis more eaſie to load learned Authors with Railing and Reproaches, than to Encounter and Confute their Arguments.

The *Hiſtorian* had the honor to be introduced by the Biſhop of *London* into his Maſters Bed-Chamber, unto whom he preſented his Book, which his Majeſty graciouſly accepted, and

held ſome conference with the Author about the ſubject-matter contained in it. He alſo gave Copies of the Hiſtory to all the Knights of the Order, that were then attending at Court, who all uſed him with reſpect ſuitable to his merits, except the Earl of *E.* who called him a *begging Scholar*; of which words he was afterward very much aſhamed, when the incivility unbecoming a Nobleman and Courtier, came to the knowledge of thoſe that were of his own Quality. Againſt this *Hiſtory* Doctor *Hackwel* appeared in Print; of which the King was preſently informed, and ſending for Mr. *Heylyn*, commanded him to conſider the Arguments of his *Antagoniſt*, and withal ſent him to *Windſor* to ſearch into the *Records* of the *Order*. This occaſioned a ſecond Edition of the *Hiſtory*, wherein were anſwered all the Doctors Arguments and Allegations, but no Reply made to his Invectives, which were too frequently interſperſed in the Book of that learned Writer; of whom Mr. *Heylyn* heard

heard no more till his very excellent Book about the *Supposed Decay of Nature* came out in a new Edition, wherein there was a Retractation made of those passages that related to St. *George*.

Mr. *Heylyn* began now to conceive some hopes of not being any longer unkindly dealt withal by the hand of Fortune, having a *Presentation* given him by one Mr. *Bridges* to the Parsonage of *Meysie-Hampton* in the Diocess of *Glocester*; unto the Bishop of which he made Application, but found him already pre-engaged to further the pretended Title of *Corpus Christi College* in *Oxon*. However his Lordship promised not to give *Institution* to any person, till the Title was cleared; advising Mr. *Heylyn* to leave his *Presentation* with him, and to enter a *Caveat* in his Court. But he who was false to God and his Mother-Church, could never be faithful to those engagements which he made to man; the one he deserted by turning *Papist*, being the only Bishop of the *English* Hierarchy, who re-

renounced a Perſecuted Church to embrace the Errors and Idolatries of the *Roman* Communion: And as for his promiſes to Mr. *Heylyn*, thoſe he violated, giving one Mr. *Jackſon* who was preſented by *C. C. C. Inſtitution* ſo ſoon as ever he requeſted it. This engaged our young Married Divine in a tedious Suit at Law, which occaſioned him great trouble, and that which he could not well at that time undergo, vaſt charge and expence; eſpecially if we conſider the bad ſucceſs that attended it. For by reaſon of the abſence of many of the *Jury*, and the ſupply of *Tales* (who attended upon the Trial as Water-men wait for a *Fare*) together with the Tergiverſation or rather Treachery of one of his *Council*, upon whoſe Wiſdom and Integrity the *Client* moſt relied, the Cauſe went againſt him, though affirmed by all *Standers-by*, and by the *Council* himſelf the night immediately preceding the Trial, to be as fair and juſt an Action as ever was brought to Bar. But *indignus eſt felicitate, quem for-*

fortuitorum pudet. It was not the first time that a poor man was oppressed and a righteous Cause miscarried. And God ever rewards the quiet submission of his faithful Servants to his wise and unsearchable Providence with far more valuable Blessings, than those which he deprives or with-holds from them. *Joseph* had never met with those signal honors and dignities in *Pharaohs* Court, had not he been first sold by his Brethren for a Bond-slave into *Egypt.*

Neither was this the only disappointment he met with in his way to Preferment. For not long after, Preaching at Court in his second Attendance, his Majesty expressed a very high opinion of him to many noble Lords about him, and in a few months after gave him a *Presentation* to the Rectory of *Hemingford* in the County of *Huntington.* But this also missed of the desired effect, which his Majesties Bounty and Mr. *Heylyns* necessities required. For the Bishop of *Lincoln*, unto whom he made Application with his *Presenta-*

tion,

tion, would not allow the King to have any Title to the Living; ſo that the poor man was fain to return to *London re infectâ*. The Biſhop was much offended as well as ſurprized that a young Divine ſhould have ſo comprehenſive a knowledg of the Law. For he made good the Kings Right upon the paſſages of the Conveyances of the other party. But the King ſoon underſtood the entertainment his Chaplain met with at *Bugden*, and ſent him this gracious Meſſage, *That he was ſorry he had put him to ſo much charge and trouble, but it ſhould not be long before he would be out of his debt.* And he ſoon performed his Royal promiſe; for within a week after, he beſtowed on him a *Prebendſhip* of *Weſtminſter* (void by the death of Dr. *Darrel*) to the extreme vexation of his Lordſhip, who was then *Dean* of the ſame Church. And that which added to the honor of this Preferment, was his not only being the ſame day initiated into the friendſhip of the *Attorney-General*, Mr.

Mr. *Noye*, but the condeſcending Meſſage that came along with the Royal Gift, *viz. That he beſtowed that Prebendſhip on him to bear the charges of his laſt Journey, but he was ſtill in his debt for the Living.* When *Moſes* was deſerted by his Parents for fear of *Pharaohs* fury, God was pleaſed to provide him a Saviour and a Nurſe; and he was taken out of the Bul-ruſhes, and fed and preſerved in deſpight of all his enemies.

Being poſſeſſed of this Preferment, he began the repairing and beautifying of his Houſe, with many other things, ſo far as his narrow contracted Fortune would permit him. And the firſt honorable Viſit that he received in his new Habitation, was from the learned Lord *Falkland*, who brought along with him one Captain *Nelſon*, that pretended a new Invention, *viz. The Diſcovery of the Longitude of the Sea.* The Captain had imparted his deſign to many learned *Mathematicians*, who by no means could approve of, or ſubſcribe

ſcribe to his Demonſtrations. But the King referr'd him to Mr. *Heylyn*, who told that noble Lord, That his Majeſty was miſtaken in him; his skill and knowledg lying more in the *Hiſtorical* than *Philoſophical* part of *Geography*. His Lordſhip ſeem'd much offended with the anſwer, conceiving that out of a ſupercilious diſdain of the old Captain, Mr. *Heylyn* declined the buſineſs. But he preſently rectified his Lordſhips miſ-apprehenſions, aſſuring his Honor that he would confer with ſome learned men about that *Hypotheſis*, and by previous Study fit and prepare himſelf to diſcourſe it with them, and in a ſhort time give the King and his Lordſhip an account of what he did in the buſineſs. With this his Lordſhip went away ſatisfied, and commended to Mr. *Heylyn* the acquaintance of Mr. *Oughtred*, as the ableſt perſon to be conſulted in an affair of that nature. Some Letters alſo paſſed between his Lordſhip and Mr. *Heylyn*, in which his Lordſhip commended the "honeſt old

"Captain

"Captain to his Religious and Judici-
"ous care and conſideration, telling
"him that in the credibility of that
"*Phænomenon*, his Majeſties Reſolu-
"tion would be very much guided by
"his Judgment, which he found would
"be of ſpecial Authority with him:
"That he preſs'd the point the oftner to
"him, becauſe he conceived it a duty
"which he owed to the Truth it ſelf to
"have it made manifeſt one way or
"other; that is, either to be freed from
"the Captains Impoſition and Pre-
"tence, if upon trial it appeared to be
"fallacious; or elſe to be approved and
"declared for right and perfect (if ſuch
"it be) to the perpetual ſilencing of all
"malicious impugners thereof, that
"the world may be deprived no lon-
"ger of the participation and uſe of ſo
"publick and common a Benefit.

Mr. *Heylyn* being backward in no-
thing, wherein he might be really ſer-
viceable to any one part of Learning,
went to Mr. *Oughtred*, with whom he
had much diſcourſe concerning the Ca-
ptains

ptains *Hypotheſis*. Mr. *Oughtred* told his Viſitant, that the Captain was very much miſtaken in his Principle; which he made afterward appear unto the Captain at *London*, and gave this following account of it in a Letter to Mr. *Heylyn*.——"I asked him the "ground whereon he went, and told "him the difficulties which others "found. His ground, he ſaid, was by "the Nodes of the Moons Circle, be"cauſe the Moon accompanies the "Earth, having it the Center of her "Orb. The difficulties which others "imagined was the finding out of the "place of the Node or ☊ upon the "ſuperficies of the Earth. His Princi"ple I determine to omit till more lei"ſure (for I had but one whole day to "ſtay in *London*.) The difficulty of the "place of ☊ I ſaw factible at Sea, and "accordingly let him underſtand it. "Now being at *London*, I deſired con"ference with him, and thus I pro"ceeded. You require for the diſcove"ry of the Longitude, the place of ☊ "upon

"upon the earth. Well, imagine you "were now at Sea in an unknown "place, and what I gave you in de- "grees of Longitude, the diſtance of "♌ from that place where you are; "what will you conclude? He was en- "tring into I know not what by-de- "mands of *If this*, or *If that*; but I "held him to the Queſtion in the *Hy- "potheſis*, telling him he had what he "required. At laſt he anſwered, Why "methinks you have done it already "your ſelf. You have the diſtance of "♌ in the degrees of Longitude of ♌ "from an unknown place, and there- "fore the difference of the ♌ is alſo "unknown, except to that place only. "But we required the diſtance from "the other known place which you "promiſed to argue. At laſt he began "to be ſenſible of his miſtake, and I "adviſed him to deſiſt from ſuch un- "dertakings; and being of ſo great an "Age, to labour the Diſcovery of an- "other Voyage, or rather only labour "to attain to the bleſſed end thereof,

"being

"being already opened to us by our "Saviour. And this was the end of our "Communication, and will be I sup- "pose of that business also. I wonder "how the Captain for these twelve "years, wherein he hath mused upon "this, and hath had conference with so "many learned men, would receive no "answer. But it seems they gave him "too much liberty of digression; and "he having a very ill expression of his "of his confused Conceits, intangled "himself more and more in perplexi- "ties.

Thus this business ended; but before it was brought to this issue, there was an end put to the life of that learned Lord. However Mr. *Heylyn* continued his endeavours in the business, till the Captain was convinced of his mistake. Had the poor Captain lived unto these days, wherein Philosophy has met with such wonderful improvements, 'tis not unlikely but that he might have had the honor of giving the first hint of the truth of that *Hypothesis*. For I have

have been informed from a good hand, that Mr. *Hooke* the great pattern of modeſty and induſtry, did not many years ſince in his Lectures at *Greſham-College* read upon this very ſubject; and divers of his Auditors as well as himſelf were of opinion, that he had really found out and demonſtrated the *Seas Longitude*. And perhaps what is here inſerted from Mr. *Oughtred* may invite him to oblige his Country with what he has written upon that *Hypotheſis*.

But to make our return unto the ſubject of theſe Papers; whoſe mind was intent rather upon uſeful than notional Learning; and therefore about this time he began with great diligence to read over the *Statute-Laws* of the Nation, and to compare them with the times and circumſtances that occurr'd in Story: and this he did with the greateſt care, to enable himſelf for the ſervice of his Royal Maſter, who then had the Small-Pox appearing on him, but ſoon recovered of that Diſtemper:

and our young Divine to teſtifie his joy, turned *Poet*, making a Copy of *Engliſh* Verſes, which were preſented by one of his Friends to his Majeſty; and they were ſo well liked, that both their Majeſties gave him the honor of their thanks.

But the King found Improvement rather for the Judgment than Fancy of his Chaplain; and therefore *Jan.* 27. 1632. ſent for him to the *Council-Table*, where he received his Royal Commands to read over that Book of Mr. *Pryns*, called *Hiſtriomaſtix*; and to collect thence all ſuch paſſages, as were ſcandalous or dangerous to the King or State, and to reduce them into method. The Book was delivered to him, and a fortnights time aſſigned him to perform the task impoſed. But he had learned from the wiſeſt of men, That *diligence in buſineſs* and a quick diſpatch of it would qualifie him for the ſervice of Kings, and not *mean perſons*. And therefore he performed what he undertook, and carried it to the *Secretary* of

of State in leſs than four days; for which he had his Majeſties thanks, as alſo new Commands to reviſe his Papers, and to write down ſuch logical Inferences as might naturally ariſe from the Premiſſes of Mr. *Pryn*. Which task was accordingly done by him, but either the Papers were loſt, or at leaſt pretended to be ſo. And he received a third Command to deliver his own Copy to the *Attorney-General*; and about this time, and upon this occaſion wrote a ſmall Tract touching the puniſhments due by Law, and in point of practice unto ſuch Offenders as Mr. *Pryn*. And this was obſervable in the Trial of that perſon, that nothing was urged by the *Council* to aggravate his Faults, but what was contained in the Collections made by Mr. *Heylyn*.

For a reward of theſe and other Services, his Majeſty beſtowed on him the Parſonage of *Houghton*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, now let for above 470 *l. per ann.* and made void by the preferment of Dr. *Lendſel* to the See of

Peterborough; and ordered Mr. Secretary *Windebank* to take care for the Broad Seal; but within a few hours after intimated his Royal Pleaſure to him by the Biſhop of *London*, "that "it ſhould be exchanged for ſome other "Living nearer hand, and more for the "convenience of his Chaplain, his Ma-"jeſty conceiving that he might have "frequent occaſion to make uſe of his "ſervice, and therefore was unwilling "that he ſhould have any Preferment "that was ſo far diſtant from his "Court. Upon this Dr. *Heylyn* entred into a Treaty with Dr. *Marſhal* for the Parſonage of *Alresford* in *Hampſhire*; where the firſt thing he did after *Inſtiſtution* and *Induction*, was to order the daily Reading of Morning-Prayer, being a populous Market-Town, which gave very great content unto the people. And being *Ordinary* of the place, he removed the *Communion-Table* to the *Eaſt* end of the Chancel; the decency of which act, he not only juſtified by Reaſon, convincing the people how much

much it had been profaned by ſitting on it, Scribling and caſting Hats on it in Sermon time, and at other times paſſing the Pariſh Accounts, and diſputing buſineſſes of like nature; and which was worſt of all, by Dogs piſſing againſt it, and ſometimes ſnatching away the Bread that was provided for the uſe of the Bleſſed Sacrament, but by the place and poſture which the *Communion-Table* and Altars had been ſituated in former times. And in a ſhort time after, this act of his was juſtified and confirmed by what his Majeſty determined in the caſe of St. *Gregories* Church near St. *Pauls*, *London*.

But before theſe things happened, he took his Degree of *Batchelor* in Divinity, *viz.* In *July* 1630. his *Latine* Sermon was upon thoſe words, *Mat.* 4. 19. *Faciam vos fieri piſcatores hominum.* Upon the *Sunday* following (being the time of the *Act*) he Preached in the Afternoon on *Matth.* 13. 25. In which

Sermon he diſcovered the great *Myſtery of Iniquity* that lay under the ſpecious pretext of *Feoffees* for buying in of *Impropriations*. And he was the firſt perſon that ever gave notice of the danger of it to the undeceiving of the people. What he ſaid concerning it made a loud clamour throughout the whole Nation, and was one of the firſt things that expoſed him to the implacable hatred and malice of a reſtleſs Faction. At firſt he looked upon the project with as great reverence and affection, as any that were deceived and abuſed by it; and could not but congratulate the felicity of thoſe times, in giving birth to a deſign of ſuch ſignal merit. But when he look'd more narrowly into the mannagement and conduct of it, he apprehended it to be (as indeed it was) the moſt pernicious impoſture that ever ſince the Reformation was impoſed upon the people; and the moſt dangerous device to ſubvert the Church and undermine Epiſ-

Epiſcopal Power and Juriſdiction. And having ſatisfied himſelf in the danger of it, he conceived it his bounden duty to give notice of it to other men; that being once diſcovered and ſet out in its proper Colours, it might be taken into deeper conſideration, than had been to that time obſerved of it. The Sermon was Preach'd *July* 11. and the paſſage in it which concern'd the *Feoffees* was in theſe words, "Planting of Penſionary-Lecturers in "ſo many places where it needs not, "and upon days of common labour, "will at laſt bring forth thoſe fruits, "that will appear to be a Tare indeed, "though now no Wheat be accounted "fairer. For what is that which is moſt "aimed at in it, but to cry down the "ſtanding Clergy of this Kingdom, to "undermine the Publick Liturgy by "Law Eſtabliſhed, to foment Fa-"ctions in the State, Schiſms in the "Church, and to have ready Sticklers "in every place for the Advancement "of ſome dangerous and deep Deſign?

" And now we are fallen upon this
" point, we will proceed a little far-
" ther in the propoſal of ſome things to
" be conſidered. The Corporation of
" *Feoffees* for buying of *Impropriations*
" to the Church, doth it not ſeem in
" the appearance to be an excellent
" piece of Wheat, a noble and gracious
" part of Piety? Is not this *Templum*
" *Domini, Templum Domini?* But bleſ-
" ſed God! that men ſhould thus draw
" near to Thee with their mouths and
" be ſo far from Thee in their hearts!
" For what are thoſe entruſted in the
" managing of this great Buſineſs? Are
" they not moſt of them the moſt a-
" ctive and beſt affected men in the
" whole cauſe, and *Magna partium mo-*
" *menta*, chief Patrons of this grow-
" ing Faction? And what are thoſe that
" they prefer? Are they not moſt of
" them ſuch men as are and muſt be
" ſerviceable unto their dangerous In-
" novations? And will they not in
" time have more Preferments to be-
" ſtow than all the Biſhops of the King-
dom?

"dom? And ſo by conſequence a "greater number of Dependents to "promote their Intereſt? yet all this "while we ſleep and ſlumber and fold "our hands in ſloth, and ſee perhaps, "but dare not note it. High time it is "aſſuredly you ſhould be awaked and "rouze up your ſelves upon the appre-"henſion of ſo near a danger. The noiſe and calumnies that were raiſed and fixed upon Mr. *Heylyn* after this Sermon, incited him to make a more narrow ſearch into the matter, and to multiply as well as ſtrengthen his former Arguments, which he delivered to his endeared Friend Mr. *Noye*, who undertook the ſuppreſſion of the *Feoffees* in the Kings name; and they were accordingly ſuppreſſed in a judicial way of proceeding in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, Feb. 13. 1633.

In which year Mr. *Heylyn* commenc'd his Degree of Doctor in Divinity; an honor not uſually in thoſe days conferr'd upon men of ſuch green years; but he verified thoſe excellent words

words of the Son of *Syrach*, Wiſdom 4. 8, 9. *That honorable Age is not that which ſtands in length of time, nor that which is meaſured by number of years, but Wiſdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unſpotted life is old age.* He entertained ſome hopes that thoſe prejudices and heats which for ſome years paſt he had felt at *Oxon*, had been cooled and allayed; and that the remembrance of them was quite buried by Dr. *Prideaux*, having ſo long a tract of time as from 1627. to 1633. to forget them. In his firſt Diſputation he had inſiſted on the Churches *Viſibility*; and now he reſolved to aſſert and eſtabliſh its *Authority*: and to that purpoſe made choice to anſwer upon theſe three Queſtions for his Degree of Doctor,

An Eccleſia habeat Authoritatem,
- *In determinandis Fidei Controverſiis?*
- *Interpretandi Scripturas?*
- *Decernendi Ritus & Ceremonias?*

All

All which he held in the *Affirmative*, according to the plain and positive Doctrine of the Church of *England* in the 20th. *Article*, which thus runs *in terminis*, viz. *Habet Ecclesia Ritus sive Ceremonias statuendi Jus, & in Fidei Controversiis Authoritatem*, &c. But the *Regius Professor* was as little pleased with these Questions, and the *Respondents* stating of them, as he was with the former: And therefore that he might the more effectually expose him, he openly declared how the *Respondent* had falsified the publick Doctrine of the Church, and charged the *Article* with that Sentence, *viz. Habet Ecclesia Ritus sive Ceremonias*, &c. which was not to be found in the whole Body of it; and for the proof thereof, he read the *Article* out of a Book which lay before him beginning thus, *Non licet Ecclesiæ quicquam instituere quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur*, &c. To which the *Respondent* readily answered, That he perceived by the bigness of the Book which lay upon the Doctors

ctors Cuſhion, that the *Article* he read was out of the *Harmony of Confeſſions* publiſh'd at *Ceneva, Anno Dom.* 1612. which therein followed the Edition of the *Articles* in the time of King *Edw.*6. *Anno Dom.* 1552. in which that Sentence was not found; but that it was otherwiſe in the *Articles* agreed on in the *Convocation, Anno Dom.* 1562. to which moſt of us had ſubſcribed in our ſeveral places; but the *Profeſſor* ſtill inſiſting upon that point, and the *Reſpondent* perceiving the greateſt part of his Auditory diſſatisfied, he called to one Mr. *Weſtly,* who had formerly been his Chamber-Fellow in *Magdalen College,* and deſired him to fetch the Book of *Articles* from ſome Adjacent Book-ſellers; which being obſerved by the *Profeſſor,* he declared himſelf very willing to decline any farther Debate about that buſineſs, and to go on directly in the Diſputation; But the *Reſpondent* was reſolved to proceed no further, *Uſque dum liberáverit animam ſuam ab iſtâ calumniâ*, (as his own words

words were) till he had freed himself from that Imputation. And it was not long before the coming of the Book put an end to the Controversie; out of which he read the Article in *English in his verbis, The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith*, &c. which done, he delivered the Book to one of the Auditors who desired it of him, the Book passing from one hand to another till all were satisfied. And at this point of time it was, that the Bishop of *Angolesme*, Lord *Almoner* to the Queen, left the *Schools*, professing afterward, *That he could see no hope of a fair Disputation from so foul a beginning.*

It has been laid to Doctor *Heylyn*'s charge, that at this time he was *Hissed*, because he *excluded King and Parliament from being parts of the Church:* But he never deny'd either to be parts of the *Diffusive* Body of the Church, but only to be parts of the Church *Representative*, which consists of the Bishops and Clergy in their several *Councils.*

cils. For neither King nor Parliament are Members of the *Convocation*, as he then proved and asserted. The *Articles* ascribe to the Church of *England* Represented in a *National Council* power of decreeing *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, and Authority of determining *Controversies* in Faith, as well as other Assemblies of that nature. And this neither deserved nor met with any *Hiss*. Perhaps a *Hiss* was then given, but it was when the *Regius Professor* went to prove, that not the *Convocation*, but the *High Court of Parliament* had power of ordering matters in the Church, in making *Canons*, ordaining *Ceremonies*, and determining *Controversies* in Religion. And he could find no other *medium* to make it good, but the Authority of Sir *Edw. Coke* in one of the Books of his *Reports*. An Argument unto which the *Respondent* returned no other *Answer* than *Non credendum est cuique extra suam Artem*; upon which immediately he gave place to the next *Opponent*, which put an end to the heats

heats of that Diſputation. But it did not ſo to the *Regius Profeſſors* paſſion againſt Dr. *Heylyn*. For conceiving his Reputation ſomewhat leſſened in the eye of the world, he gave an account in a paper of the whole tranſaction, that tended very much to the Doctors diſgrace, as well as his own Juſtification. But Dr. *Heylyn* well knew upon what bottom he ſtood, and therefore in his own Vindication cauſed the *Profeſſor* to be brought before the *Council-Table* at *Woodſtock*, where he was publickly rebuked for the miſ-repreſentations that he had made of him. And upon the coming out of the Kings *Declaration* concerning Lawful Sports, Dr. *Heylyn* took the pains to tranſlate the *Regius Profeſſors* Lecture upon the *Sabbath* into *Engliſh*, and putting a Preface before it, cauſed it to be Printed; A performance which did not only juſtifie his Majeſties proceedings, but abated much of that opinion, which Dr. *Prideaux* had amongſt the Puritanical Faction in thoſe days.

Paſs

Paſs we now from the Univerſity, the School of Learning and Study, to the Court, the Seat of Breeding and Buſineſs; where Dr. *Potter* (afterward Dean of *Worceſter*) preſented to the King a very learned Treatiſe, called *Charity Miſtaken*; and for a reward of his great Abilities, had a *Prebendſhip* of *Windſor* deſign'd for him, which was then likely to become vacant by the promotion of the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* to the See of *Hereford*. Many of Dr. *Heylyn*'s Friends were very zealous with the King on his behalf, eſpecially Dr. *Neile* then Archbiſhop of *York*. But his Lordſhip ſtuck faſter to his Biſhoprick, than he did to his Principles, and ſo the buſineſs ended. But whilſt it was in agitation, it occaſioned this merry *Epigram* from our young *Doctor*, who was conceived by every one to have miſſed that *Prebendſhip* upon the ſuppoſed Vacancy;

When

When Windſor-*Prebend late diſpoſed was,*
One ask'd me ſadly how it came to paſs,
Potter *was choſe and* Heylyn *was forſaken?*
I anſwered, 'twas Charity Miſtaken.

But the Doctors Juvenile humor was preſently converted iuto a far leſs pleaſing paſſion. For Mr. Attorney-General *Noye* left this world for a better, very much to the ſorrow, but much more to the loſs of Dr. *Heylyn.* He kept his *Whitſontide* in 1634. with the Doctor at *Brentford*, where he uſed all imaginable arguments and intreaties to diſſuade him from going to *Tunbridge*-Waters the following *Vacation*, importuning him to accompany him to *Alresford*, where he would be certain to find a better Air, and a more careful Attendance. But we are very often wiſe to our own hurt, and ſtand in that light which would guide us to ſafety and felicity. But whatſoever

damage our Doctor ſuſtained by the loſs of ſo invaluable a Friend, ſome perſons elſe have gained well by it, having two large Manuſcripts of Mr. *Noys* own hand-writing: The one contains the Collections he made of the Kings maintaining his *Naval* power according to the practice of his Royal Predeceſſors: The other about the Priviledges and Juriſdictions of Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Theſe two Books Doctor *Heylyn* had a ſight of from Mr. *Noye* about two months before the death of that learned man. And it would be a generous act and highly conducive to the honor of Mr. *Noy*'s memory, as well as the Kings and Churches intereſt, if ſuch Treaſures were communicated to the benefit of all his Majeſties Subjects, which are now only uſeful to ſome ſingle perſons.

Neither was this all the trouble that Dr. *Heylyn* met with at this time. For ſome enemies then living added to the ſorrow and diſturbance that he had for his departed Friend. The grievances which

which the Collegiate Church of *Weſtminſter* ſuffered under the Government of *John* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then *Commendatory-Dean* thereof, became ſo intolerable, that our Doctor was conſtrained for the common ſafety of that Foundation, to draw up certain *Articles* (no leſs than 36.) againſt his Lordſhip by way of charge; which he communicated to Dr. *Thomas Wilſon*, Dr. *Gabriel Moore*, and Dr. *Ludovicus Wemmys*, Prebendaries of the ſaid Church, who embarqu'd themſelves in the ſame bottom with him, and reſolved to make complaint by way of *Petition*; which was drawn up and preſented to the King by all four together in the *Withdrawing-Chamber* at *Whitehal*, *March* 31. 1634. And a *Commiſſion* was iſſued out thereupon to the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Earl of *Mancheſter* Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of *Portland* Lord high Treaſurer, the Lord Biſhop of *London*, Lord *Cottington*, and the two Secretaries of State, *viz.* Sir *John Coke* and Sir *Francis Windebank*;

authorizing them to hold a *Viſitation* of the Church of *Weſtminſter* to examine particular charges made againſt *John* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and to redreſs ſuch Grievances and Preſſures as the *Prebendaries* of the ſaid Church ſuffered by his Miſ-government. The Articles were returned to Dr. *Heylyn* to be put in *Latine*, and the *Commiſſion* bore date *April* 20. But the whole thing lay dormant till *December* 1635. at which time the Biſhop began again to rage in his Province of *Weſtminſter*, diſpoſſeſſing the *Prebendaries* of their Seats, neglecting to call the *Chapter* to paſs accounts, conferring *Orders* in the ſaid Church within the ſpace of a month, permitting a Benefice in the gift of the ſaid Church, and lying within his Dioceſs, to be lapſed unto himſelf; with many other Grievances which cauſed the foremention'd *Prebendaries* to preſent a ſecond *Petition* to his Majeſty, *Humbly beſeeching him to take the ruinous and deſperate eſtate of the ſaid Church into his Princely conſideration*,

ſideration, as 'tis worded in the *Petition* it ſelf.

Upon which the former *Commiſſion* was revived and delivered to the Lords whom it did concern; and a Citation fixed upon the Church-doors of *Weſtminſter* accordingly. Upon *January* 25. they were warned by the *Sub-Dean* to meet the Biſhop in *Jeruſalem-Chamber*, where amongſt other matters his Lordſhip deſired to know what thoſe things were that were amiſs, that ſo he might preſently redreſs them. To whom Dr. *Heylyn* replied, That ſeeing they had put the buſineſs into his Majeſties hands, it would ill become them to take it out of his into their own. *Jan.* 27. both parties met before the Lords in the *Inner Star-Chamber*, where the *Commiſſion* was tendred and accepted, and the whole buſineſs put into a methodical courſe; each following *Monday* being appointed for the day of hearing, till the whole was concluded. *Feb.* 1. The *Commiſſioners* with the *Plaintiffs* and *Defendant* met in the

Council-Chamber at *Whitehal*, where it was ordered that the *Plaintiffs* ſhould be called by the name of *Prebendaries-Supplicant*. That they ſhould be admitted upon Oath as Witneſſes. That they ſhould have a ſight of all Regiſters, Records, Books of Accounts, &c. That the firſt buſineſs that they ſhould proceed in ſhould be that of the *Seat*, becauſe that made the breach or difference more viſible and offenſive to the world, than thoſe matters that were more private and domeſtick, and finally that the *Prebendaries-Supplicant* ſhould have an *Advocate*, who ſhould plead their Cauſe, defend their Rights, and repreſent their Grievances. And the perſon that they unanimouſly made choice of was Dr. *Peter Heylyn*.

Feb. 8. the *Dean* put in his Plea about the *Seat* or great Pew under *Richard* the II. and the *Advocate* being appointed by the *Prebendaries-Supplicant* to ſpeak in the defence of their common Intereſt, in the *Seat* now controverted, and of which the Biſhop of *Lin-*

Lincoln had moſt diſgracefully diſpoſſeſſed them, he made choice to repreſent to the Lord *Commiſſioners*, 1. Their *Original* Right. 2. Their *Derivative* Right, and laſtly their *Poſſeſſory* Right.

Their *Original* Right he proved from the Charter of their Foundation, from Queen *Elizabeth* their Foundreſs, who declared by Act of Parliament made in the firſt year of her Reign, the *Abbey* of St. *Peter* in *Weſtminſter* fell into her hands, and that being ſeized thereof, and of all the Lands thereunto belonging, ſhe did by her *Letters Patents* erect the ſaid diſſolved *Abbey* into a Collegiate Church, conſiſting of a *Dean* and twelve *Prebendaries*; and that the ſaid *Dean* and *Prebendaries* ſhould be both *in re & nomine unum corpus corporatum, one only Body Politick; that they ſhould have a perpetual Succeſſion, a Common Seal; and that they ſhould Call, Plead and be Impleaded by the name of the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St.* Peter *in* Weſtminſter.— So that by this Donation the *Dean* hath

no propriety in the ſaid Church (his own *Stall* excepted) but is joynt-Owner with the *Prebendaries* of the *Site* and *Soil.* Nor did the Queen beſtow upon them the Church alone, but beſtowed it *joyntly upon them, una cum omnibus antiquis privilegiis, libertatibus, ac liberis conſuetudinibus; and thoſe to be enjoyed in as full a manner, as ever the Abbot and Convent did before enjoy the ſame.* By which it appears, that all the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of the Church of *Weſtminſter* is veſted joyntly in the *Dean* and *Chapter*, and not in the *Dean* alone. For as the *Dean* and *Chapter* are one *Body*, ſo they make one *Ordinary*; and as one *Ordinary*, have a common and joynt Power to diſpoſe of *Seats.*

Their *Derivative* Right, he proved from their *Original* Right: For the Queen giving the *Dean* and *Prebendaries* with their Succeſſors all Rights, Poſſeſſions, Privileges and Immunities, they need only to prove their Succeſſion in the Church of St. *Peter*; and then

then whatever Right was in their Predeceſſors *Original*, muſt be on them *derived*.

As for their *Poſſeſſory* Right, he deſired their Lordſhips pardon, if he ſhould fail in the proof of it. For the Book of the *Chapter-Acts* was miſſing, which was very neceſſary in order to it. And although one offered to take his Oath, that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* never ſaw it; yet the Oath was ſo deſperate, that either the perſon who offered to take it, had an hand in making away the Book, or elſe that he durſt ſwear whatever the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid or aſſerted. But being deprived of that Evidence, he proceeded to *Teſtimony*; where he did not make uſe of ſuch Witneſſes as were ſummoned by the *Dean*, *viz. Colege*-Servants and Tenants, who were obnoxious to him; but indifferent men, that were no way Friends to the *Complainants*, but only to the Truth; ſome of them Biſhops, ſome Doctors in Divinity, all of them of unqueſtion'd Credit, and ſuch as ſpake upon

upon certain and affirmative knowledge.

Finally, the *Advocate* (than whom never any Orator or Lawyer did better acquit himſelf) urged, that however things were in time paſt, yet the Biſhop by his *Non-Claim* had pre-judged himſelf; and that the poſſeſſion of the *Prebendaries* ſince his Lordſhip became *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* was ſufficient to create a Right, though they had never any right before. And this he made good by particular Caſes and Deciſions in the *Civil*, *Canon*, and *Common* Laws.

Firſt, for the *Civil* Law it was determined by the Laws of the *twelve Tables*, That a continued and quiet poſſeſſion which any man had gained in a *Perſonal* Eſtate, for one year only, or for two years together in matters *Real*, which they call *Immovable*, ſhould create a Right; (thoſe times being thought ſufficient for any man to put in his Claim.) And ſo it held in *Rome* many hundred years, till that upon ſome inconveniences which did thence ariſe, it plea-

pleaſed *Juſtinian* to ſet out his *Edict* (which is ſtill extant in the 7th. Book of his *Code*) and in that *Edict* to Decree, That a poſſeſſion of three years in matters *Perſonal* ſhould beget a Right: and as for *Real* Eſtates, it was determined that a poſſeſſion of ten years *inter præſentes*, and twenty years *inter abſentes* ſhould conclude as much. And in almoſt all Nations Chriſtened, the ſame Law has continued to this very time. So that if this be applied to my Lord of *Lincoln*, he is gone in *Civil* Law: For being reſident here continually for fifteen years together, he never made his Claim to the *Seat* in queſtion, and ſo has loſt his Right, if ever he had any.

Next for the *Canon* Law, it yields as many ruled Caſes and Deciſions, by which to regulate this point as the former. But the *Advocate* inſtanc'd only in one. The Church of *Sutry* in *Tuſcany* being void, the *Canons* go to the Election of a Biſhop, and make choice of one whom they deſire to have confirmed

firmed. The Clergy of the *Convents* about the City interpoſe their Claim, and make it manifeſt, *Eos Electionibus trium Epiſcoporum qui immediatè præfuerunt, &c. interfuiſſe*, i. e. that they were preſent at the Election of the three laſt Biſhops, and did give their Voices. The Pope thereupon determined, that ſeeing the Witneſſes on the *Canons* part did ſeem to differ among themſelves, *Et quod negativam quodammodo aſtruere ſatagebant*, and that they went about to prove the Negative, *viz.* that the ſaid Clerks had no Voices in the three laſt Elections, or were not preſent in the ſame: (which negative proof it ſeems was taken for a ſtrange attempt.) And ſeeing on the other ſide, that it was manifeſt how the ſaid Clerks were preſent at the three laſt Elections, and had their Voices in the ſame, the former Election was made void, and the ſaid Clerks put into that poſſeſſion which they had before. A Caſe (ſays Dr. *Heylyn*) that is very parallel to our preſent

preſent buſineſs, we claiming, that if not before, yet in the time of the three laſt *Deans* we had poſſeſſion of this *Seat*, and therefore are to be reſtored unto that poſſeſſion, out of which we had been caſt by my Lord of *Lincoln*.

Laſtly, for the *Common* Law, however, there is nothing againſt which the Laws do provide more carefully, than the preventing or removing of a Force; nor any thing wherein they do proceed with more ſeverity than in puniſhing of the ſame; yet by the Laws it is enacted, that they which keep their poſſeſſions by Force in any Lands or Tenements whereof they or their Anceſtors, or they, whoſe Eſtate they have in ſuch Lands or Tenements, have continued their Poſſeſſion by the ſpace of three years or more, be not endangered by any former Statutes againſt Force, Forcible Entries, and Forcible Detainers. So careful are the Laws to preſerve Poſſeſſion, that in moſt caſes they do prefer it before Right; at leaſt till Right

Right be cleared and Judgment be pronounced in favour of it. And albeit in the *Common* Laws there is no ruled Case in the present busines, as being meerly of Ecclesiastical Cognizance and Jurisdiction, yet in the *Common* Law, there is one Case which comes very near it; and 'tis briefly this. If there be two *Joynt*-Tenants, or Tenants in *Common* of certain Lands, and one of them doth expel or put forth the other out of Possession of the said Lands by force, he that is so expelled may either bring his Writ of Assize of *Novel Disseisin*, and so recover treble dammages, or have his Action of Trespas of Forcible Entry against his Companion that did so expel him, and thereupon shall have a Writ of Restitution. This Case is very near ours, as before is said, the *Dean* and *Prebendaries* being *Joint*-Tenants, or Tenants in *Common* of the *Seat* in question, out of which we are expelled forcibly by my Lord of *Lincoln*, and now desire the benefit of the Law for our Restitution.

But

But (ſays the *Advocate*) my Lord objects, that the *Prebendaries* are in ſubjection to him, that they ſwear *Canonical* Obedience to him, and therefore ſhould not ſit in the ſame *Seat* with him. But to both we anſwer with an *Abſque hoc*, we are not in ſubjection to him; for we are made *Joynt*-Governors with him in every thing pertaining to the Church, and in the Statutes are entituled *Primarii & principes viri*, and are to be Aſſiſtants to him, and Aſſociates with him in the common Government of the ſame. Nor do we ſwear *Canonical* Obedience to him, as is pretended. We only make *Oath* that we ſhall give him *dignam debitamque Reverentiam*, and that we ſwear to give to all Officers: So that if *Digna Reverentia* is to be conſtrued *Canonical* Obedience, we owe *Canonical* Obedience to the *Arch-Deacon*, the *Treaſurer*, the *Sub-Dean* and *Steward*, as well as to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

Much more was ſpoken by Dr. *Heylyn vivâ voce* in this matter, which will be

be too tedious to be inſerted in his *Life*. But when he had ended his Speech, the Lord *Commiſſioners* expected that the Biſhop would have made a Reply: but after a long pauſe, he ſaid no other words than theſe, *If your Lordſhips will hear that young fellow prate, he will preſently perſuade you that I am no Dean of* Weſtminſter. But upon hearing the proofs of both ſides, it was ordered by general conſent of the Lord *Commiſſioners*, that the *Prebendaries* ſhould be reſtored to their old *Seat*, and that none ſhould ſit there with them but Lords of the Parliament and Earls Eldeſt Sons, according to the antient cuſtom. After this, there was no Biſhop of *Lincoln* to be ſeen at Morning-Prayer in the Church, and ſeldom at Evening. *Feb.* 15. the Lord *Commiſſioners* went on in hearing the particulars of the ſecond *Petition*, and ſo they proceeded from one *Monday* to another, till *Monday April* 4. and then adjourned till the 25th. of the ſame month: upon which day the buſineſs was again re-

re-ſumed, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* appeared not ſo well to the Lord *Commiſſioners*; except thoſe of the Laity, who were apparently inclined to favour him; and therefore thoſe of the Clergy thought it neither fit nor ſafe to proceed to Sentence; and upon that the *Commiſſion* was put off *ſine die*.

The *Advocate*'s Activity in this Affair procured him a great deal of enmity and ill-will both in Court and Countrey, as every mans Zeal will do, that will be true to his Principles, and faithful in his Station. For whoever does impartially adminiſter, or peremptorily demand publick Juſtice, will as certainly be exclaimed of, as a Patient will cry out of that Chirurgeon that Launces a gangren'd or feſter'd Wound. But Dr. *Heylyn* gained theſe two advantages by his zeal in this buſineſs, *viz.* That he juſtified the Priviledges of the *Prebendaries*, out of whoſe Revenues the Biſhop kept a plentiful Table; inviting to it the chiefeſt of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry; the

Prebendaries having no other advantages by his Hoſpitality, than to fill their bellies with the firſt Courſe, and then after the manner of great mens Chaplains, to riſe up and wait till the coming in of the ſecond: And the other was, that by his frequent and *extempore* Debates before the Lords *Commiſſioners*, he was at laſt brought to ſuch an habit of ſpeaking, that Preaching became more eaſie and familiar to him, than it had been in the firſt part of his life.

I will not (as I before promiſed) mention all the Grievances that were complained of concerning that great perſon. One thing more it may not be amiſs to inſert in theſe Papers, and that is Dr. *Heylyn*'s Refuſal to ſit in the *Choire* of *Weſtminſter*, according to Academical Decrees. For the Biſhop of *Lincoln* having taken a Reſolution, that the twelve *Prebendaries* ſhould ſit in the *Choire* according to their Degrees in the Vniverſity, our Doctor remonſtrated againſt it, giving theſe Reaſons for his Refuſal. 1. In

1. In the *Charter* of the Foundation of that Church, the *Prebendaries* are diſtinguiſhed by *Primus*, *Secundus*, *Tertius*, &c. as now by *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia Præbenda*, &c. according unto which account, both in the *Treaſurers* Book, and in the *Chanters*, I am reckoned as the ſixth *Prebendary*, and do preach accordingly, as Succeſſor to *Edmund Schambler*, the *Sextus Prebendarius* here firſt eſtabliſhed.

2. In the ſame *Charter* of the Foundation, *William Young* being of no Degree is placed before *Gabriel Coodman*, Maſter of Arts, which makes it evident, there was no purpoſe that for the after-times, the Order of Academical Degrees ſhould be obſerved in marſhalling the *Prebendaries* places.

3. The Statutes of the *College* give to the new ſucceeding *Prebendaries* the *Stall* and *Houſe* belonging to their Predeceſſors in the ſame *Prebend*, according to theſe words thereof, *Succedant Prebendarii prædeceſſoribus ſuis in eâdem præbenda tam in Stallo, loco &*

voce in Capitulo, quam in domo eidem Præbendæ annexis. By which it is apparent, that the *Stalls* as well as *Houſes* are annexed to the *Prebendaries.* But the *Prebendaries* by this Statute take not their places in the *Chapter-Houſe* by any ſuch Seniority as is pretended; nor have two ſeveral *Chapter-Acts* been found of any force to ſever the *Houſes* from the *Prebendaries*, and therefore not their *Stalls* neither.

4. His Majeſties *Letters Patents*, whereby I claim whatſoever I hold in *Weſtminſter*, give me *Præbendam illam quæ vacat per mortem*, G. Darrel (which was the ſixth *Prebend*) *cum omnibus juribus & præheminentiis*, with all Rights and Pre-eminences thereunto belonging; and ſo by conſequence the ſixth *Stall* alſo, as the pre-eminenee appertaining to it.

5. The *Mandat* in thoſe Letters Patents is, that I be inſtalled fully and abſolutely in the ſame *Prebend* which was then vacant (*In eandem Præbendam plenariè inſtallari faciatis*, as the Patent

Patent goes) which is not done at all, either *plenariè* or *in eandem*, if this order hold.

6. The *Mandat* iſſuing out with the ſaid Letters Patents, is, that I be Inſtalled *prout moris eſt*, according to the antient cuſtom. But ſuch a cuſtom by ſitting according to degrees of Schools was never yet known in *Weſtminſter*, nor in any Church out of the Univerſity that I can hear of, and is not kept in many Colleges of the Univerſity, which I am ſure of: therefore that clauſe reflects upon ſuch a cuſtom as hath formerly been uſed in *Weſtminſter*, and hath both the *Statute* and the *Charter* for the ground thereof.

7. Your Lordſhip did determin the laſt *Chapter*, that the way of ſitting by *Prima, Secunda, Tertia Præbenda, &c.* was moſt agreeable to Statute; and that if any man ſhould take his place accordingly, he could not be hindred from ſo doing; to which determination there was then a full aſſent in *Cha-*

pter, and divers of the *Prebendaries* have ſince ſate accordingly.

8. Whereas your Lordſhip took a Corporal Oath at your Admiſſion into this *Deanery* to govern this Collegiate Church *ex his Statutis*, according to the tenor of theſe very Statutes which are now in uſe; and that the *Prebendaries* have all of them taken a ſeveral Oath faithfully to obſerve the ſame Statutes; and whereas the Statute is moſt plain, that the new *Prebendaries* are to have the *Stalls* of their Predeceſſors in the ſame *Prebend*, I cannot ſee how poſſibly this new order can ſtand with the ſame Statute, and ſo by conſequence with our Oaths, who have ſworn to keep them.

9. Upon this new order there will follow ſuch confuſion in the Church, that upon the coming in of a new *Prebendary*, the greateſt part of the company will be ſtill troubled to remove their *Stalls* higher or lower from one ſide to another, according as the Newcomer is in Seniority; and ſo inſtead of

of order, we ſhall bring diſorder into our Church.

10. This new order is an Innovation never before known in this Church, and hath no ground in Statute or in Cuſtom, which, as your Lordſhip noted, is *optimus Interpres Legis*; but is quite contrary thereunto. Unto which Statute and his Majeſties *Letters Patents* I refer my ſelf; humbly deſiring that theſe juſt reaſons of my refuſal to yield to ſuch an order, as neithet ſtands with Statute, or with Cuſtom, nor any other true ground of Reaſon, may find a favourable Interpretation and Admiſſion.

Whilſt theſe hot conteſts continued, out came our Doctors *Hiſtory of the Sabbath*; the *Argumentative* or *Scholaſtick* part of which ſubject was refer'd to Biſhop *White* of *Ely*; the *Hiſtorical* part to Dr. *Heylyn*, who had before that time given ample Teſtimony of his knowledge in the antient Writers. The *Hiſtory* is divided into two parts: The firſt whereof begins with the Foundation of the World, and carries on the

ſtory till the deſtruction of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. The ſecond begins with our Saviour Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and is drawn down to the year 1633. It was Written, Printed and Preſented to the King (by whoſe Special Command he undertook it) in a leſs ſpace of time than four months, and had a ſecond Edition within three months after: and notwithſtanding the polemical Debates upon that Argument there was never any one yet that had the courage to return an Anſwer to that *Hiſtory*. And whoever peruſes it with ſerious and unprejudiced thoughts, will find that its Author principally deſigned to withdraw his Country-men from a *Judaical* Obſervation of the Lords day, *i. e.* from Dedicating the whole of that time to the ſervices and offices of Religion; and refuſing to engage in any buſineſs, which our own or our Neighbors Conveniences or Neceſſities might exact from us. And when all that our voluminous Writers have ſaid upon this Argument is

ſumm'd

ſumm'd up together, there are none of them but will ſubſcribe to the truth of theſe two Propoſitions: 1. That worldly cares and bodily Recreations tend very much to diſcompoſe and rarifie mens ſpirits, and to fill them full of froth and worldlineſs, of gaiety and wantonneſs; ſo that they cannot fix their thoughts upon Chriſtian Duties with any ſerious or continued Attention. 2. That 'tis impoſſible for the minds of the generality of Chriſtians, who are not uſed to Contemplation to be for a whole Lords day, or the greateſt part of it, intent upon Religious Exerciſes. And beſides, if all Refreſhments and Recreations were abſolutely unlawful upon that day. poor Servants and the laborious part of mankind would be highly prejudiced, for whoſe benefit the Sabbath was firſt inſtituted and appointed.

No ſooner had the Doctor perfected this *Hiſtory*, but the Dean of *Peterborough* engages him to anſwer the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Letter to the *Vicar* of *Grantham*.

Grantham. He received it upon *Good-Friday*, and by *Thurſday* night following diſcovered the Sophiſtry, Miſtakes and Falſhoods of it; and yet did not for all that intermit any of the publick Religious Exerciſes of the holy Feaſt of *Eaſter*. It was approved by the King; by him given to the Biſhop of *London* to be Licenſed and Publiſhed under the Title of *A Coal from the Altar*.——In leſs time then a twelvemonth the Biſhop of *Lincoln* writ an Anſwer to it, entituled, *The Holy Table, Name and Thing:* but pretended it was writ long before by a Miniſter in *Lincolnſhire* againſt Dr. *Cole*, a Divine in the days of Queen *Mary*. Our Reverend Doctor received a Meſſage from his Majeſty to return a Reply to it, and not in the leaſt to ſpare the Author, *April* 1. 1637. And he obeyed the Royal Command, in the ſpace of ſeven weeks, preſenting it ready Printed to the King the 20th. of *May* following, and called it *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*. And although the Biſhops Book was (from

(from the diſſatisfaction of the times, the ſubject-matter of the Book it ſelf, and the Religious eſteem of the Author who was held in high Veneration) looked upon to be unanſwerable, and ſold for no leſs than 4 *s.* yet upon the coming out of the anſwer, it was brought to leſs than one. But before this, he anſwered *Burtons* Seditious Sermon, being thereunto alſo appointed by the King; which Book although he diſpatch'd in a fortnight, yet it was not publiſhed till *June* 26. 1637. being kept in readineſs till the Execution of the *Star-Chamber* Sentence upon the *Triumviri*; that ſo people might be ſatisfied as well in the greatneſs of the Crimes, as the neceſſity and juſtice of the puniſhment inflicted upon thoſe Offenders. *Pryn, Burton, Baſtwick.*

In *July*, 1637. the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was Cenſured in the *Star-Chamber* for tampering with Witneſſes in the Kings Cauſe, being ſuſpended *à Beneficio & Officio*, and ſent to the *Tower*, where he continued

continued three years, and did not in all that ſpace of time hear either Sermon or Publick Prayers. Not long after this, Dr. *Heylyn* was choſen *Treaſurer* for the Church of *Weſtminſter*, and continued in that Office all the while of the Biſhops Impriſonment and Suſpenſion. And he made uſe of the power with which that place inveſted him to the beſt advantage of that Foundation. For firſt he regulated the Diſorders of the *Jury* by exacting the *Sconces* or *Perdition-money*, and dividing it amongſt thoſe that were moſt diligent and devout. Then he proceeded to repair the Timber-work of the great *Weſt Iſle*, which was ready to fall down; cauſed the new Arch over the Preaching-place to be new Vaulted, and the Roof thereof to be raiſed to the ſame heighth with the reſt of the Church; the Charge whereof amounted to 434*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* and laſtly, made the *South-ſide* of the lower *Weſt-Iſle* to be new Timbred, Boarded and Leaded, being fallen into great decay.

Thrice

Thrice he aſſiſted in the Election at *Weſtminſter-School*, and every time had an opportunity of bringing in a Scholar into that Royal Foundation; for two of which he was never ſpoke unto: and for his kindneſs unto all three he never had the value of one pint of Wine, nor any thing of leſs moment.

Whilſt he continued *Treaſurer*, the Parſonage of *Iſlip* became vacant by the Death of Dr. *King*, unto which he was preſented by the *Chapter*. But he deferr'd receiving *Inſtitution* by reaſon of its great diſtance from *Alresford*, being adviſed to exchange it for ſome other that was more near and convenient. After many offers, he at laſt exchanged with Mr. *Atkinſon* of *St. Johns College* in *Oxon* for *South-Warnborough*, which was eight miles diſtant from his other Living; and the perpetual Patronage of which Archbiſhop *Laud* had beſtowed upon that fore-mentioned Society. But that Gentleman enjoyed *Iſlip* but a few weeks; and thoſe of his *College* conceiving themſelves prejudi-

judiced by the change, our Doctor was ſo generous, as to obtain for one of the Fellows a ſecond *Preſentation* to *Iſlip*, for which he never received ſo much as the leaſt civil Acknowledgment.

But he had other things to afflict his ſpirit at that time, his whole Family being viſited with a contagious Fever, and no perſon in it, except one Servant, but were all ſick at one and the ſame time. The Doctor did as narrowly eſcape death, as St. *Paul* and his Companions did Shipwrack, when they went to *Rome*. The Fever had ſo ſeized upon his ſpirits, that after the abatement of its Paroxiſms, he had many dull and ſleepleſs nights: and returning upon him with greater violence a twelvemonth after, he was reduced to ſo extreme a weakneſs, that all his Friends together with himſelf ſuppoſed him fallen into a deep Conſumption. And yet even at this time his mind was not idle or unactive. For now it was that he firſt meditated of a project of Writing a *Hiſtory* of the Church of *England*

land ſince the *Reformation*. And no ſooner had he recovered ſome meaſure and degrees of ſtrength, but he prepared materials for it; and upon his return to *London*, obtained the freedom of Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Library, and by the recommendation of Archbiſhop *Laud* had liberty granted him to carry home ſome of the Books, leaving 200 *l.* apiece as a pawn behind him.

About this time it was, that the Commotions began to be hot in *Scotland*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deſigning to put out an *Apology* for vindicating the *Liturgy*, that he had recommended to that *Kirk*, deſired our Doctor to tranſlate it into *Latine*; that being publiſhed with the *Apology*, the world might be ſatisfied in his Majeſties Piety, as well as his *Graces* care; as alſo that the rebellious and perverſe temper of the *Scots* might be apparent unio all, who would raiſe ſuch tumults upon the recommendation of a Book that was ſo venerable and Orthodox. Our Reverend Doctor under-

undertook and compleated it; but the diſtemper and troubles of thoſe times were the occaſion that the Book went no farther than the hands of that learned *Martyr*.

In *Feb.* 1639. Dr. *Heylyn* was put in *Commiſſion* of the *Peace* for the County of *Hampſhire*; into which he was no ſooner admitted, but he occaſioned the diſcovery of an horrid Murther, that had been committed many years before in that Country. *April* following he was elected Clerk of the *Convocation* for the College of *Weſtminſter*. At which time the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſending a *Canon* to that Aſſembly for *the Suppreſſing the further growth of Popery, and bringing Papiſts to Church*, our Reverend Doctor moved his *Grace* that the *Canon* might be enlarged for the greater ſatisfaction of the people, as well as the protection of the Church, *viz.* "That all perſons entruſted with "Care of Souls, ſhould reſpectively uſe "all poſſible Care and Diligence by "open Conferences with the Parties, and

"and by Cenſures of the Church in in-
"ferior Courts, as alſo by Complaints
"unto the Secular Powers, to reduce
"all ſuch to the Church of *England* as
"were miſled into Popiſh Superſtition.
This and much more was offered by Dr. *Heylyn*, as may be ſeen more at large in his Life of the Archbiſhop. And a- bout the ſame time he drew up a Paper wherein he offered a mutual Conference by ſelect *Committees* between the Houſe of *Commons* and the Lower Houſe of *Convocation*: And this he did that the *Repreſentatives* of the Clergy might give ſatisfaction to the *Commons* in point of *Ceremonies*, and in other matters relating to the Church, if the motion was accepted; but if refuſed, that they might gain the advantage of Reputation among knowing and wiſe perſons. But the unhappy Diſſolution of the Parliament prevented all things of this nature: The news of which was ſo unwelcome and amazing to Dr. *Heylyn*, that being then buſied

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at the Election for the School at *Weſtminſter*, the Pen fell out of his hand; and it was not without ſome difficulty before he could recollect his thoughts in the buſineſs about which he was engaged.

The *Convocation*, according to uſual cuſtom, had expired the next day after the Parliament, had not our Reverend man gone to *Lambeth*, and there diſplayed to the Archbiſhop the Kings neceſſities, and acquainted him with a precedent in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, for granting *Subſidies* or a *Benevolence* by *Convocation* to be taxed and levied without help of Parliament. Upon which propoſal the *Convocation* was adjourned till *Wedneſday*, *May* 13. on which day the Biſhops met in full *Convocation*, and a *Commiſſion* was ſent down to the *Lower-Houſe*, dated *May* 12, which *enabled the Prelates and Clergy then Aſſembled to treat of, and conclude upon ſuch Canons as they conceived neceſſary for the good of the Church*. The greateſt part of the Clergy very

very much ſcrupled this matter, conceiving the *Convocation* to end with the Parliament. But our Reverend *Divine* being well skill'd in the Records of *Convocations*, ſhew'd the diſtinction between the *Writ*, for calling a Parliament, and that for aſſembling a *Convocation*; their different *Forms*, the independence of one upon the other, as alſo between the *Writ*, by which they were called to be a *Convocation*, to make *Canons* and do other buſineſs. He proved alſo, that although the *Commiſſion* was expired with the Parliament, yet the *Writ* continued ſtill in force; by which they were to remain a *Convocation* till they were Diſſolved by another *Writ*. With this diſtinction he ſatisfied the greateſt part of thoſe who ſcrupled to ſit after the Parliaments Diſſolution. But the King proved the beſt *Caſuiſt* in the caſe; who being acquainted with theſe ſcrupuloſities, called the moſt learned in the Laws to conſult about them; by whom it was

Archbiſhops Life, *page* 429.

determined, *That the Convocation being called by the Kings Writ, notwithstanding the Diſſolution of the Parliament, was to be continued till it was Diſſolved by the Kings Writ,* And this was ſubſcribed by *Finch,* Lord Keeper, *Littleton* Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, *Banks*, Attorney-General, *Whitfield*, &c.

It will be too tedious to inſert into theſe Papers all the Debates that were in this learned Aſſembly; moſt of them are to be ſeen in the Life of the Archbiſhop. Suffice it to acquaint the Leader, that few or none of thoſe propoſitions which either concerned the Inſtitution, Power, or Priviledges of Sovereign Kings, or related to the Epiſcopal Power, Doctrine, or Diſcipline of the *Engliſh* Church, but were either firſt propoſed, or afterward drawn up by Dr. *Heylyn*, though he out of his great modeſty and worth aſcribes them to other perſons. It was the Clerk of the Church of *Weſtminſter*, who was placed

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placed on purpoſe by the *Prolocutor* to ſpeak laſt in the Grand *Committee* for the *Canon* of Uniformity, and to anſwer all ſuch Arguments as had been brought againſt any of the Points propoſed, and were not anſwered to his hand. It was he who made a propoſition for one uniform Book of *Articles* to be uſed by all Biſhops and Arch-deacons in Viſitations, to avoid the confuſion that happened in moſt parts of the Church for want of it; thoſe *Articles* of the Biſhops many times everting thoſe of the Arch-Deacons, one Biſhop differing from another, the Succeſſors from the Predeceſſors, and the ſame perſon not conſiſtent to thoſe *Articles* which himſelf had publiſhed; by means whereof the people were much diſturbed; the Rules of the Church contemned for their multiplicity; unknown by reaſon of their uncertainty, and deſpiſed by reaſon of the inconſtancy of thoſe that made them. The motion back'd by theſe Reaſons did ſo well pleaſe the *Prolocutor*, with the reſt of the Clergy,

that they desired the Doctor in pursuit of his own project to undertake the Compiling of the said Book of *Articles*, and to present it to the House with all convenient speed. It was the same learned man who took into consideration the great Excesses and Abuses, which were crept in, and complained of Ecclesiastical Courts: the redress and Reformation of which Grievances, was brought within the compass of these seven Heads. 1. Concerning *Chancellors Patents, and how long their virtue was to continue.* 2. That *Chancellors were not alone to censure the Clergy in sundry cases.* 3. That *Excommunication and Absolution were not to be pronounced but by a Priest.* 4. Concerning *Commutations and the way of disposing of them.* 5. Concerning *Concurrent Jurisdictions.* 6. Concerning *Licences to Marry.* 7. Against *Vexatious Citations.* Some other things were proposed and designed, but never put in execution; there being intended an *English Pontifical*, which was to contain

tain the *Form* and *Manner* of the Coronation of King *Charles* I. and to ſerve as a ſtanding Rule to ſucceeding Ages on the like occaſions. Another Form to be obſerved by all Archbiſhops and Biſhops for conſecrating Churches, Church-yards and Chappels. And a third for reconciling ſuch *Penitents* as either had done open *Pennance*, or had revolted from the Faith of Chriſt to the Law of *Mahomet*. Which three, together with the Form of *Confirmation*, and that of ordering Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, (which were then in force) were to make up the whole Body of the Book intended. But the troubles of the times increaſing, it was thought expedient to defer the proſecution of it till a fitter conjuncture. And yet notwithſtanding all the ſtorms that were then riſing, this excellent perſon went through the Book of *Articles*; the compiling of which gave no obſtruction to him from attending the ſervice of the *Committee* upon all occaſions. And for the better Authori-

zing of the *Articles*, he placed before every one of them in the Margin, the *Canon, Rubrick, Law, Injunction*, or other *Authentick* Evidence upon which they were grounded: Which being finiſhed, were by him openly read in the Houſe, and by the Houſe approved and paſſed without any alteration; only that exegatical or explanatory clauſe in the fourth *Article* of the fourth *Chapter* touching the reading of the *Communion-Service* at the Lords Table, was deſired by ſome to be omitted, which was done accordingly. Finally, it was Dr. *Heylyn* who propoſed a *Canon* "for "enjoyning the ſaid Book to be only "uſed in *Parochial Viſitations*, for the "better ſettling of Uniformity in the "outward Government and Admini- "ſtration of the Church, and for pre- "venting of ſuch juſt Grievances as "might be laid upon the Church-War- "dens and other ſworn men by any im- "pertinent, inconvenient, or illegal *En-* "*quiries* in the *Articles* for *Eccleſiaſti-* "*cal Viſitations.*

Nei-

Neither were theſe the only Fruits of his labours and travels in this buſineſs; there being ſix Subſidies granted to the King; and the Biſhops and Clergy in *Convocation* upon the 20th. of *May* received his Majeſties Letters, Sealed with his Royal *Signet*, and atteſted by his *Sign* Manual, which required and authorized them to proceed in making *Synodical Conſtitutions* for levying of thoſe Subſidies which had been before granted. And this was eaſily done, there being nothing to be altered but the changing of the name of *Subſidy* into that of *Benevolence*. *Friday, May* 29. the *Canons* were formally ſubſcribed unto by the Biſhops and Clergy, no one diſſenting, except the Biſhop of *Gloceſter* (who died in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, and was all that part of his life in which he revolted from the Church of *England*, a dear Favourite and Servant of *Oliver Cromwel*, unto whom he dedicated ſome of his Books) for which he was voted worthy of Suſpenſion by the

Convo-

Convocation, and was accordingly Suſpended by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Which being done, the *Convocation* was diſſolved.

Proceed we now from the *Active* to the more *Paſſive* part of Dr. *Heylyn*'s life. For the Long Parliament, the Churches as well as the Kings Scourge, began to ſit at *Weſtminſter*, and a general Rumor was ſpread both in City and Country, that our Doctor being conſcious to himſelf of many Crimes, durſt not ſtand the brunt of their diſpleaſure, and therefore had made uſe of his heels as his beſt weapons of defence; being run away out of a fear and foreſight of an approaching ſtorm. When theſe rumors were raiſed, he was at his Parſonage of *Alresford*, from whence he haſtened with all convenient ſpeed, confuting the Calumny, by ſhewing himſelf the very next day after his coming to *London* in his Gown and Tippet in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. And upon a Vote paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, that no Biſhop ſhould be of the *Committee*

mittee for the Preparatory Examinations in the Cauſe of the Earl of *Strafford*, under colour that they were excluded from acting in it by ſome antient *Canons*, as in cauſe of Blood, our learned *Divine* did thereupon draw up a brief Diſcourſe, entituled, *De jure Paritatis Epiſcoporum* (now inſerted in the Re-printed Volume of his Works) which he preſented unto many of the Biſhops to aſſert all their Rights of *Peerage* (and this of being of that *Committee* among the reſt) which either by Law or antient cuſtom did belong unto them.

The Parliament began their *Seſſion Novemb.* 3. 1640. and upon the 9th. of *December* following, upon the Complaint of Mr. *Pryn*, our Doctor was called before the *Committee* of the Courts of Juſtice; who accoſted him with that fierce fury, that no one could have withſtood the Torrent, but one whoſe Soul was fortified with Innocence equal to his Courage. The Crime objected againſt him, was, that he had been

been a ſubſervient Inſtrument under the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* all the ſufferings of Mr. *Pryn*, having read the *Hiſtriomaſtix*, out of which he had furniſhed the Lords of the *Council* and many other perſons with matter to proceed againſt its Author. But our Doctor made a bold and juſt Defence for himſelf, telling his Accuſers, That the Task was impoſed upon him by Royal Authority, which he would readily prove, if they would have ſo much patience as to allow him time for that purpoſe. Great hopes they had to ſqueeze ſomething out of him concerning his being engaged in it by the Archbiſhop: but he was too wary to be enſnared by any of their Artifices, and being faithful to his Friend and Patron, was kept four days under Examination, ſuffering for the two firſt the brutiſh Rage of the People, more perhaps than St. *Paul* did at *Epheſus*; for that bleſſed man did not adventure himſelf amongſt thoſe Savages. But our poor Doctor was toſſed up and down by the fury

fury of an ungovern'd multitude, and railed at as he paſſed through them by their leud and ungoverned tongues. But God who ſets bounds to the Waves of the proud Ocean, rebuked their rage, and reſcued him from their malice.

But alas! what civility can be expected from the ill-bred Rabble unto Clergy-men, when they themſelves like the Eagle in the *Greek Apologue* wound one another with Arrows feathered with their own Plumes. For four days after he had received order to appear before the *Committee*, he preach'd his turn in the *Abbey* at *Weſtminſter*, and in the midſt of his Sermon was inſufferably affronted by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who knocking the Pulpit with his Staff, cried out aloud, *No more of that Point, No more of that Point*, Peter. This happened to the poor man in very ill circumſtances, for it occaſioned new clamours, and animated his enemies to proceed on with greater violence againſt him. But not-

notwithſtanding all their united malice, he held out bravely, ſending the whole paſſage of his Sermon as he deſigned to Preach it both to his Friends at *Court*, and Enemies in Parliament: and taking Sir *Robert Filmore*, with ſome other Gentlemen that were his Auditors, out of the Church along with him to his Houſe, where he immediately ſealed up his Sermon-Notes in their preſence, they ſetting their Seals to them, that ſo there might not be the leaſt Alteration in the Sermon, nor any ground to ſuſpect it. Nay he made choice of one Mr. *White*, the fierceſt man in the *Committee*, to be judg of the affront offered to him, deſiring him in his Letter, " That he " would recommend him to the Houſe " of Commons, that they might ſo far " take him into their protection, as " might conſiſt with the Honor and Ju- " ſtice of their Houſe; otherwiſe he " would rather chuſe to put himſelf up- " on their Cenſure for a Contempt in " not appearing, than be again expoſed

to

"to the fury of an outragious people,
"whoſe malice is moſt mercileſs be-
"cauſe moſt groundleſs: That after he
"was diſmiſſed from the *Committee*, he
"was ſet upon by the rude and uncivil
"Multitude with thruſtings, juſtlings,
"ſpurnings, and worſe than that, with
"ſuch opprobrious and reviling lan-
"guage, that as he never endured the
"like before, ſo he was confident it
"would add much to the eſteem and
"reputation of that honorable Houſe,
"if neither he nor any other honeſt
"man do endure it more. And laſtly,
"whereas he was intertupted in his
"Sermon by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and
"thereupon might juſtly think that
"there was ſome ſtrange matter like
"to follow, which might enforce him
"to ſuch an unuſual courſe, therefore
"he intreated him to accept of the
"whole paſſage, as it ſhould have been
"ſpoken *verbatim* out of the original
"Copy.

And the whole paſſage I ſhall here tranſcribe, as being that which may at

aſt

leaſt gratifie the curioſity, if not inform the judgment of the Reader. "Such alſo ſhould the correſpondence "and affections be between the Mem- "bers and particular Aſſemblies of the "Church Militant; all which, though "many and of different natures, make "but one Body in the whole; and "therefore to be ſo affected each to o- "ther as the bodily members. Now "God hath ſo diſpoſed the members in "the body natural, that they ſhould "have the ſame care of one another; "and though they be of ſeveral quali- "ties, yet do endeavour the ſubſiſtence "of the whole *compoſition*, that ſo there "may be no Schiſm nor dangerous divi- "ſion in the body of man. An excellent "*Item* unto us, to teach us our behaviour "to our Fellow-members in the Church "of Chriſt; that we aim all of us at "Gods glory, and the Churches peace, "raiſing no Schiſm, nor making any "Diviſion in this bleſſed body. But "we alas! neglect this *Item*, and hear- "ken not to thoſe inſtructions of peace

and

"and unity which every member of
"the Body doth even preach unto us.
"Men of dull ſpirits in the Lord, who
"will not give an ear to his word and
"works, when now the very fleſh is
"become a preacher to them. How
"comes it elſe to paſs, that in the very
"Church of Chriſt there be almoſt as
"many Schiſms as Nations; ſuch dif-
"ferences not alone in points of Do-
"ctrin, but alſo in the Forms of our
"Devotions? The Chriſtian Church
"divided into the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern:*
"the *Weſtern* into *Popiſh* and *Prote-*
"*ſtant*: the *Proteſtant* into the *Luthe-*
"*ran* and *Zuinglian:* the *Zuinglian* in-
"to *Calviniſt* and *Remonſtant*. Not to
"ſay any thing of any other Sects, or
"Subdiviſions into the ſame Sects,
"more dangerous though not ſo no-
"table. And how comes this to paſs,
"but that forgetting that we make to-
"gether one Body only, we would
"have every member be a ſeveral Bo-
"dy, and thereby make our Saviour
"Chriſt more monſtrous than the Gi-

" ant *Gerion*, and not to have three
" Bodies only, but three hundred thou-
" ſand.

" That ſo it is, who knows not that
" knows any thing? But why it ſhould
" be ſo we muſt ask our ſelves. Is it
" not that we are ſo affected with our
" own Opinions, that we condemn
" whoever ſhall opine the contrary?
" And ſo far wedded to our own wills,
" that when we have eſpouſed a Quar-
" rel, neither the Love of God, nor
" the God of Love ſhall divorce us
" from it? Inſtead of hearkening to the
" voice of the Church, every man
" hearkens to himſelf, and cares not if
" the whole miſcarry ſo that himſelf
" may bravely carry out his own de-
" vices. Upon which ſtubborn height
" of pride, what quarrels have been
" rais'd! What Schiſms in every cor-
" ner of this our Church! (to enquire
" no further) ſome rather putting all
" into open tumult, than that they
" would conform to a lawful Govern-
" ment derived from Chriſt and his A-

poſtles

"poſtles to theſe very "times. * Others com- "bining into cloſe and "dangerous Factions, be- "cauſe ſome points of "Speculative Divinity are otherwiſe "maintained than they would have "them. All ſo regardleſs of the com- "mon peace, that rather than be quiet, "we will quarrel with our Bleſſed "Peace-maker for ſeeking to compoſe "the differences, though to the preju- "dice of neither party. Thus do we "fooliſhly divide our Saviour, and rent "his Sacred Body on the leaſt occaſi- "on; vainly conceiving that a diffe- "rence in point of Judgment muſt "needs draw after it a diſ-jointing of "the affection alſo, and that conclude "at laſt in an open Schiſm. Whereas "diverſity of Opinions if wiſely man- "naged, would rather tend to the diſ- "covery of the Truth, than the diſtur- "bance of the Church; and rather "whet our Induſtry than excite our "Paſſions. It was S. *Cyprian*'s Reſolu-

* At theſe words the Biſhop knock'd with his Staff on the Pulpit.

"tion, *Neminem, licet aliter ſenſerit, à "communione amovere*; not to ſuſpend "any from the Churches Communi- "on; although the matter then deba- "ted was (as I take it) of more weight "than any of the points now contro- "verted. Which moderation, if the "preſent age had attained unto, we "had not then ſo often torn the "Church in pieces, nor by our fre- "quent broils offered that injury and "inhumanity to our Saviours Body, "which was not offered to his Gar- "ments by thoſe that Crucified him.

Theſe were the feuds that paſſed between theſe two Clergy-men; and 'tis worthy of remark, that although both of them were at ſo wide a diſtance in the proſperous condition of the Church, yet there was a cloſure made when the heavy ſtorm fell upon it. For a motion being offered by Dr. *Newel*, but coming originally from the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Heylyn*, with the privity and conſent of the Archbiſhop paid the reſpects of a Viſit to his Lordſhip

at

at his Lodging in *Weſtminſter*, where he met rather with a ceremonious than a kind Reception. A ſhort Recapitulation there was made of ſome paſt differences between them, and a propoſal for atonement of all faults, *viz.* the calling in of the *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*, and that too by the Kings command. Unto which our Doctor anſwered, That it was Writ and Publiſhed by the Kings Command, and therefore it was improbable that he would call it in; however he would try all poſſible ways to give his Lordſhip ſatisfaction; and then preſented to him his Papers about the *Peerage of Biſhops*, which he then read over and approved. After this there was no more meeting between them, till about a year following the Doctor gave his Lordſhip a Viſit in the *Tower*, which he received ſo kindly, that for ever after a fair correſpondence paſſed interchangeably between them.

And the paſſage in the Sermon had as kindly an effect upon the *Committee*,

as his Viſit had upon the Biſhop. For he found thoſe fierce Gentlemen, after the peruſal of his Notes, much more favourable and reſpective than before. They demanded a Copy of the Charge which he drew up againſt Mr. *Pryn*, which being delivered, Mr. *Pryn* accuſed him of Libelling and Preaching againſt him; for proof of which he produced in Court ſome of the Doctor's Books, urging many paſſages out of them; but all concluded nothing. That which was at laſt moſt inſiſted on was a Sermon Preach'd ſome years before Mr. *Pryn*'s Cenſure in the *Star-Chamber* before his Majeſty. But the ſenſe of his paſt dangers before the *Committee* was in ſome meaſure recompenc'd by this days mirth and jollity. For Mr. *Pryn* reſolving effectually to damnifie the Doctor, produced a company of *Butchers* to bring in Evidence againſt him about a Sermon formerly Preach'd by him. And after the Teſtimony of theſe great Criticks had been mannag'd to the beſt advantage of Raillery and Mirth,

Mirth, the Criminal was favourably diſmiſſed and never more called before them. 'Tis true, many attempts were made to create him new Diſturbances, ſome being employed to make a ſevere inquiſition into his Life and Manners, which they found too ſpotleſs for their ſpleen and malice. Others engaged his Neighbours at *Alresford* to draw up *Articles* againſt him; which was accordingly done by two of them, and few others of the moſt inconſiderable Inhabitants; who were prevailed on to make their Marks (for Write they could not) by telling them it was a buſineſs, in which the Town were very much concerned. But when the *Articles* were produced before the *Committee*, they appeared ſo fooliſh and frivolous, as not to be deemed worthy of conſideration, and upon that were returned to be amended upon a *Melius Inquirendum:* and this being done in a more correct and enlarg'd Edition, they were again return'd to the *Committee*, and a ſet day was appointed for a

Hearing: And that being come, the Complaint was put off *ſine die*, and a Copy of the *Articles* delivered to the perſon accuſed, together with thoſe newly put in againſt him by Mr. *Pryn*, collected out of his Printed Books. But the poor Doctor being quite tir'd with Buſineſs and Attendance, obtained leave of the *Chair-man* to retire into the Country, who freely promiſed to ſend a private Meſſenger to him, if there were any occaſion for his return. Upon which he removed his Study to *Alresford*, ſetting his Houſe for no more than 3 *l.* a year, with a purpoſe never more to come back to *Weſtminſter*, whilſt thoſe two incomparable Friends remained in it, *viz.* the *Houſe of Commons*, and Biſhop of *Lincoln*. At his coming to *Alresford* the people were amazed to ſee him, having been perſuaded that they ſhould never more fix eye on him, unleſs they took a journey to a Goal or a Gallows.

About this time it was that Doctor *Hacwel* taking advantage of the innumerable

merable troubles and enemies of this learned man, publiſh'd a Book againſt him concerning the Sacrifice of the *Euchariſt*. It was not without ſome difficulty that he obtained one of them to be ſent to him in the Country, where he wrote a ſpeedy Anſwer to it. But Dr. *Hackwel*'s Friends thought fit to call in the Book, ſo ſoon as it firſt came into light, and then our Doctor was eaſily perſuaded to ſuppreſs his Anſwer, diverting his Studies to more pleaſing and no leſs neceſſary ſubjects, *viz.* The *Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy*, and the *Hiſtory of Liturgies*. The firſt was Printed preſently after it was written, and Preſented to the King by Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, and Publiſhed under the name of *Theophilus Churchman*; but the other, although ſent to *London*, and received by the Bookſeller, was not Printed till ſome years after.

For now there was more employment found out for the Sword than the Pen, the noiſe of *Bellona* and *Mars* ſilencing the Laws of God and Men; and

and Christians conceiving it their duty rather to spill the Blood of their Country-men for Religion, than to part with one drop out of their own veins, and to plunder the Goods of their Neighbours than to *endure the spoiling* of their own. Sir *Will. Waller* sent eighty of his Soldiers to be quartered at the Doctors house, with full Commission to strip him naked of all he had: But his fair and affable carriage towards them did so mollifie the Austerity of their natures, that they quite dismissed all thoughts of violence and revenge: So were *Esau*'s bloody resolutions quite converted into kindness and respect by the humble deportment as well as noble presents that were made to him by his Brother *Jacob*. But notwithstanding the Diversion of this storm, the Reverend man was early the next morning brought before Sir *William* by his *Provost-Marshal*; by whom he was told that he had received Commands from the Parliament to seize upon him, and send him Prisoner unto

unto *Portſmouth*. The Doctor had the like privilege with St. *Paul*, being permitted to plead for himſelf, and by his powerful reaſoning did ſo far prevail upon the *General*, as to be diſmiſſed back to his houſe in ſafety. But prudently fore-ſeeing that this would only be a Reprieve till a further miſchief, within a few days he left *Hampſhire* and went to *Oxon*; where he no ſooner arrived, but he received his Majeſties Commands by the *Clerk* of his *Cloſet* to addreſs himſelf to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, from whom he was to take directions for ſome ſpecial and important Service; which was at laſt ſignified to Dr. *Heylyn* under the Kings own hand, *viz.* to write the *Weekly Occurrences* which befel his Majeſties Government and Armies in the unnatural War that was raiſed againſt him. The Reverend Man was hugely unwilling to undertake the employment, conceiving it not only ſomewhat diſagreeable to the Dignity and Profeſſion that he had in the Church, and directly thwarting

ting his former Studies and Contemplations; but that by a faithful discharge of his Duty in that Service, he ſhould expoſe both his Family and himſelf to the implacable malice of thoſe perſons, whoſe very mercies were Cruelty and Blood. But no Arguments or Interceſſions could prevail to have him excuſed from that Employment, at leaſt for ſome time, till he had made it facile by his own diligence and example. Neither were dangers or difficulties of any moment with him, when the Service of his Prince and Maſter required his Labours and Aſſiſtance. *Diſcere à peritis, ſequi optimos, nihil appetere ob jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recuſare, ſimulque anxius & intentus agere,* is a Character as truly applicable to Dr. *Heylyn,* as to the brave *Roman* of whom it was firſt written. For he deſired no employment out of vain-glory, and refuſed none out of fear, but equally was careful and intent in whatever he undertook; and

Tacit. in Vit. Jul. Agr.

at

at that time too, when he was denied the poor *Deanery* of *Chicheſter*, for which his Majeſty was earneſtly importuned in his behalf by Mr. *Secretary Nicholas*. The *Weekly Occurrences* that were wrote by him, he called by the name of *Mercurius Anglicus*; which name continued as long as the Cauſe did for which it was written. And beſides theſe weekly Tasks, being influenced by the ſame Royal Commands, he writ divers other Treatiſes, before he could obtain his *Quietus eſt* from that ungrateful Employment, *viz.* 1. *A Relation of the Lord* Hopton's *Victory at* Bodwin. 2. *A View of the Proceedings in the Weſt for Pacification.* 3. *A Letter to a Gentleman in* Leiceſterſhire *about the Treaty.* 4. *A Relation of the Queens Return from* Holland, *and the ſeizing of* Newark. 5. *A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir* John Gell. 6. *The Black Croſs*, ſhewing that the *Londoners* were the cauſe of the preſent Rebellion, with ſome others that were never Printed.

Theſe

Theſe zealous ſervices produced the very ſame effect, that he foreſaw when he firſt undertook them. For in the ſpace of ſix months, he was voted a *Delinquent* in the *Houſe of Commons*; this being given for a reaſon, *viz.* that he reſided and lived at *Oxon*. Upon which, an Order was ſent to the *Committee* at *Portſmouth* to Sequeſter his whole Eſtate and ſeize upon all his Goods. And *Reading* being taken by the Earl of *Eſſex*, a free and eaſie paſſage was opened for the Execution of thoſe unrighteous Decrees. For in a ſhort ſpace after, his Corn, Cattle and Money were taken by one Captain *Watts*, and all his Books carried to *Portſmouth*. Colonel *Norton*'s hand being ſet to the Warrant of his Sequeſtration, he twice Petition'd to have ſome Reparation out of his Eſtate; but was denied the firſt time, and put off in a more Courtly manner the laſt. Before he left *Alresford*, he took care to hide ſome of his choiceſt and moſt coſtly Goods, deſigning the firſt opportunity

to

to have them conveyed to *Oxon.* But either by ill luck, or the treachery and baſeneſs of ſome of his Neighbours, the Cart with all the Goods were taken by part of *Nortons* Horſe, and carried to *Portſmouth*; himſelf alſo violently purſued, and by Divine Providence delivered from the ſnare of thoſe Fowlers, who thirſted after his Blood and lay in wait for his Life. The Cart with all contained in it was carried to *Southampton*, and delivered unto *Norton* (Saintſhip then being the ground of Propriety, as it afterward was of Sovereignty.) A loſs great in it ſelf, but much more ſo to a poor *Divine*; and chiefly to be aſcribed to a *Colonel* in the King's Army, who denied to ſend a Convoy of Horſe for the guarding of his Goods, although the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* gave Order for it. And theſe Oppreſſions which he ſuffered from his Enemies were increaſed by as unjuſt proceedings of thoſe who ought to have been his Friends. For part of the Royal Army defaced his Parſonage-Houſe at

Alreſ-

Alresford, making it unhabitable and taking up all the Tithes; for which he never had the leaſt ſatisfaction, unleſs it was the Manumiſſion of himſelf from the troubleſome Employment under Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, and at his going off, at the requeſt of that worthy Gentleman, he writ a little Book called *The Rebels Catechiſm*.

Being thus diſmiſſed from buſineſs ſo diſagreeable to his *Genius*, he found leiſure to employ his Contemplative thoughts about ſubjects more weighty and ſerious. And having obeyed the Commands of his Superiors, he endeavoured to ſatisfie the doubts of his Friends; and particularly of one whoſe thoughts were confuſedly perplexed about our *Reformation*. And to do this, he drew up a Diſcourſe in anſwer to that common but groundleſs Calumny of the Papiſts, who brand the Religion of our Church with the nickname of that which is *Parliamentary*. But our Reverend Doctor Demonſtrates in that Book how little, or indeed

deed nothing the Parliament acted in the *Reformation*. For ſome years indeed that are paſt, there have been *Parliaments* that have had a *Committee* for Religion, which is to have an Apoſtolical care of all the Churches. And our Reverend Doctor obſerves that this cuſtom was firſt introduced into the Houſe of *Commons*, when the Divinity-School in *Oxon* was made the Seat of their Debates. For the *Speaker* being placed in or near the *Chair* in which the Kings *Profeſſor* of Divinity did uſually read his publick Lectures and moderate in all publick Diſputations, they were put into a conceit, that the determining in all Points and Controverſies in Divinity did belong to them. As *Vibius Rufus* having married *Tullies* Widow, and bought *Cæſar*'s Chair, conceived that he was then in a way to gain the Eloquence of the one, and the Power of the other. For, after this we find no Parliament without a *Committee*

Obſervations on the Hiſtory of the Reign of K. *Charles*, 34.

mittee for Religion, and no *Committee* for Religion but what did think it self ſufficiently inſtructed to mannage the greateſt Controverſies in Divinity which were brought before them: And with what ſucceſs to the Religion here by Law Eſtabliſhed, we have ſeen too clearly.

——Tractent fabrilia fabri.

Let things of a ſpiritual nature in the name of God be debated and determined by Spiritual perſons. Doctrinal matters are proper for the cognizance of a *Convocation*, not of a *Committee*; which does often conſiſt of wiſe men, but the common Title given to * ſome of them, does at leaſt prove that thoſe wiſe men are not always either the beſt Chriſtians or greateſt Clerks.

* Committee of Affections.

Neither were theſe things the only Subjects of the vaſt mind and contemplative thoughts of this great man. For toward the latter end of this year (being 1644.) he Preſented to his Majeſty

jesty a Paper containing the Heads of a Discourse writ by him, called, *The Stumbling-block of Disobedience removed*—in answer to and examination of the two last Sections in Mr. *Calvins Institutions*, against Sovereign Monarchy. The Lord *Hatton*, the Bishop of *Sarum*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, and Dr. *Steward* perused the whole Treatise, and the King approving of the Contents, commanded the Lord *Digby* further to consider the Book; in whose hands it did for a long time rest; neither was it made publick till about ten years after the War was ended.

In the beginning of the year 1645. he left *Oxon*, and went into *Hampshire*, settling himself and Family at *Winchester*; *Alresford* with all the rest of his Preferments being taken from him, and having nothing to subsist upon besides his own Temporal Estate. And yet even now the exuberancy of an honest zeal (that I may use his own words though upon another occasion) carried him rather to the maintenance of his

Brethrens and the Churches Cauſe, than to the preſervation of his own peace and particular contentments. And therefore conſidering unto what a deplorable condition the poor Loyal Clergy were reduced, how they were *hungry and thirſty*, and their *ſouls* ready to *faint in them*; as alſo how the Parliament were about to eſtabliſh thoſe *Presbyterian* Miniſters for term of life in thoſe Livings, out of which himſelf and many others were ejected, he drew up ſome *Conſiderations*, and preſented them to ſome Members of the Houſe of *Commons*, to ſee whether he could move them to any Chriſtian Charity and Compaſſion. And they are ſo clear and convincing, that they would have prevailed upon any, but thoſe that were made up all of Guts, but no Bowels. They are theſe that follow.

1. "The Clergy which were ſequa-
"ſtrated in the time of the Long Par-
"liament, were charged for the moſt
"part with no other Crime, than their
adhæ-

" adhæſion to the late King in the long " courſe of his Troubles; which many " of them did in gratitude for Prefer- " ments received; others in relation to " their ſervices and perſonal Duties; " and all as I conceive out of conſci- " ence of that Loyalty and Allegiance, " in which by their ſeveral Oaths and " Subſcriptions they were bound to " him.

2. " Sequeſtration is in Law no o- " ther than a ſuſpenſion *à Beneficio*, de- " priving a man only of the profits, " not of the rights of his Incumbency; " nor leaving him in an incapacity in returning to thoſe profits again, upon " the taking off of the Sequeſtration, " or Suſpenſion, which in the intend- " ment of the Law is reckoned only " for a temporary, no perpetual puniſh- " ment.

3. " The perſons put into thoſe Be- " nefices have been ever ſince looked " upon but as Curates, not as Proprie- " taries of thoſe Livings; and in the " wiſdom of the Parliament were con-

"ſidered but as Tenants at will, or "*quamdiu benè ſe geſſerint* at the beſt: "the power of preſenting to thoſe Li- "vings upon the death or deprivation "of the right Incumbent, being left "wholly to the Patron, as by Law it "ought; which kept thoſe Miniſters "(for the moſt part Presbyterian) in a "continual obnoxiouſneſs to the Com- "mands and Will of that Parliament, "to which they were very uſeful on all "occaſions.

4. "The Bill now brought into the "Houſe for ſettling thoſe new Mini- "ſters for term of life, hath many "things which ſeem worthy of conſide- "ration, as carrying in it many diſad- "vantages to parties intereſſed therein, "and ſomething prejudicial to the pub- "lick peace: For,

1. "It deprives the right Patron "of his lawful power of nominating "to thoſe Livings, deſcended to him "from his Anceſtors, or purchaſed "by his money; and conſequently "ſettled on him in as ſtrong a way,

"as

" as the eſtabliſhed Laws of the
" Land could confirm the ſame,

2. " It deſtroys many a learned,
" peaceable and Religious man with-
" out hope of remedy; but ſerves
" withal for a great juſtification of
" their Innocence, when for want of
" Crime to proceed upon, and lega-
" lity in their conviction, the power
" of the legiſlative Sword is fain to
" be made uſe of to effect the buſi-
" neſs.

3. " It ſubverts thoſe ends for
" which thoſe men were firſt put in-
" to their Livings; who being ſet-
" tled in the ſame for term of life by
" Act of Parliament, and following
" the impetuoſity of their own ſpi-
" rits, will be apt when time and
" opportunity ſerves, to let fly all
" their fury at the preſent Govern-
" ment, as they did formerly at the
" other in the late Kings Reign. And
" though it be conceiv'd by ſome,
" that the Ordinance for ejecting
" ſcandalous Miniſters will be curb

" ſufficient to hold them in, yet I find
" no ſuch thing as turbulent and fa-
" ctious Preachings to be ſpecified a-
" mongſt the ſcandals which are
" therein enumerated.

5. " Whereas it is intended that the " Miniſter thus deprived ſhall have a " *Fifth* part of the Profits of the Li- " ving, if he be not otherwiſe provi- " ded of ſome temporal means ſuffici- " ent to maintain himſelf and Family, " I conceive with all ſubmiſſion to bet- " ter Judgments, that the ſaid limitati- " on will be occaſion of much trouble " to the men deprived, if it doth not " quite overthrow the benefit intended " to them; that being a ſufficient means " for one man which is not for another, " with reference to their Degrees, Fa- " milies and ways of Living: whereas " to theſe new-comers in the profits of " the Living will be always certainly " ſufficient with an *Over-plus*, if we " meaſure by that Standard wherewith " they make others; it being no un- " uſual thing in ſome of that Party to

tell

" tell the ſequeſtred Clergy, when they " ſued for their *Fifths*, *That it was* " *ſufficient for them to be ſuffered to live.* " And then aſſuredly

——*Populo ſatis eſt Fluviuſq; Cereſque.*

" It will be accounted a high degree of " ſufficiency (if not of ſuperfluity ra- " ther) that they have wherewithal to " buy themſelves a morſel of Bread and " a cup of cold Water.

And accordingly as this Reverend Perſon foretold, ſo it came to paſs. For when the *Presbyterian Intruders* were ſettled in the Benefices of the Sequeſtred Clergy for term of life, although the *Commiſſioners* for *Rejecting of Scandalous Miniſters* had power to grant a *Fifth* part, together with the Arrears thereof to the Ejected Clergy, yet the *Bill* was clogg'd with two ſuch circumſtances, as made it unuſeful to ſome and but a little beneficial to the reſt. For firſt it was ordered that no man ſhould receive any benefit by the *Bill*,

Bill, who had either 30 *l. per ann.* in *Real*, or 500 *l.* in *Perſonal* Eſtate: By means whereof many who had formerly 500 *l.* yearly to maintain their Families, were tied up to ſo poor a pittance, as would hardly keep their Children from begging in the open Streets. And 2dly. There was ſuch a power given to the *Commiſſioners*, that not exceeding the *Fifth* part, they might give to the poor Sequeſtred Clergy as much and as little as they pleaſed, under that proportion. And the * Doctor inſtances in one of his certain knowledg, who for an Arrear of 12 years out of a Benefice Rented formerly for 250 *l. per ann.* obtained but 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* (the firſt Intruder being then alive and poſſeſſed of the Benefice) and no more than 20 *Marks per ann.* for his future ſubſiſtence; which is but a *Nineteenth* part inſtead of a *Fifth*.

* Exam. Hiſt. p. 111.

Not long after which Oppreſſions, the *Intruders* themſelves were in as immi-

imminent danger to be deveſted of all their maintenance, as the Loyal Clergy, who had ſuffered the utmoſt extremity of Cruelty and Injuſtice. For *Tithes* being repreſented as a *Publick Grievance* in the *Rump-Parliament*, the Gentry were in a fair way to be deprived of their *Impropriations*, and the *Presbyterians* themſelves of their Patrimony. And although our Reverend *Doctor* paid *Tithes* himſelf, and therefore had no Obligations to appear in the defence of them for private Ends or Intereſts, yet for the upholding of the common Chriſtianity and ſome kind of ſtanding Miniſtry in the Nation, he endeavoured in a modeſt and rational way the *undeceiving of the people* in that particular. For whereas it was objected

1. That the maintenance allowed the Clergy was *too great for their Calling*; He ſhewed that *never any Clergy in the Church of God hath been, or is maintained with leſs charge to the Subject, than the Eſtabliſhed Clergy of the Church of* England. 2. Where-

2. Whereas it was objected that their *Maintenance was made up out of the Tenth part of each mans eſtate*; He demonſtrated, *That there is no man in the Realm of* England, *who pays any thing of his own toward the Maintenance of his Pariſh-Miniſter, but his Eaſter-Offerings.*

3. Whereas it is ſuggeſted, That the *changing of this way by the payment of Tithes into Stipends,* would be more *grateful to the Country, and more eaſe to the Clergy*; He proved, *That the changing of Tithes into Stipends would bring greater trouble to the Clergy, than is yet conſidered, and far leſs profit to the Country, than was then pretended.* So zealous was this excellent perſon, not only for his Friends and Fellow-ſufferers, *viz.* the poor oppreſſed and ejected Clergy; but for his very enemies the *Intruders,* that had Preach'd the King out of his Life, and himſelf and Brethren out of all their Livelihoods and Preferments. And at that time too his zeal appeared, when he was by a ſmall tem-

temporal Eſtate incapacitated to receive the leaſt benefit by any Act of Mercy that could accrue to him by his labours in that particular: Nay had the project of *removing Hirelings out of the Church* (as it was then phraſed) taken effect, Doctor *Heylyn*'s Eſtate would have received conſiderable improvements and advantages. For which he was fain to compound with the *Committee-men* in *Goldſmiths-Hall* in the year 1645. But he has left no memorial of what he paid to thoſe inſatiable Leeches and Oppreſſors. However he ſped well, as the caſe ſtood with him. For being (as was before obſerved) voted a *Delinquent*, the Parliament marked him out for an Oblation, reſolving, that whenever they could get *Heylyn* into their ſnares, who had been an inſtrument of ſo much miſchief to them, his Blood ſhould appeaſe their Fury, and expiate his own Guilts. But being at the Siege at *Oxon*, he ſhared with the *Royalliſts* in the common benefit of thoſe *Articles*, that were made

at

at the ſurrender of that City; and by that means ſaved his Life, as well as his Eſtate.

Anno Dom. 1648. he ſettled himſelf and Family at *Minſter-Lovel* in *Oxfordſhire*. And although he had loſt his Library (which for choiceneſs of Authors was inferior to few Clergy-mens in *England*) and therefore might well be deemed unfit to write Books for others, when he was robb'd of his own; yet he would not permit his own private *Oeconomicks* to ſwallow up his precious minutes, but endeavoured to benefit his Country, and to divert his mind from the ſad complexion of the times, by enlarging his *Geography* into a *Coſmography*; which as it now remains perfected by him, may be truly averr'd to be a Repoſitory of as much uſeful and delightful Learning, as any publiſhed either in that preſent, or in preceding Ages. It is true many material Errors were juſtly charged upon it, when it was a *Geography*, but his own Apology is more powerful than any can be made

in

in his behalf; "for being "writ in an Age, on "which the pride of "Youth and Self-opinion might have "some predominancies, I thought it "freer from miſtakes than ſince I have "found it: and thoſe miſtakes by run-"ning through eight Editions (ſix of "them without my peruſal or ſupervi-"ſing) ſo increaſed and multiplied, that "I could no longer call it mine, or look "upon it with any tolerable degree of "patience. Preface to the *Coſmography.*

If it be ſaid, that as 'tis now completed by him, he has as well run into new Errors, as corrected the old ones; it may be ſo too. For thoſe humane Abilities are yet to be named, that were in all things governed by an infallible Spirit. And no man that is not ſo guided, can plead the privilege of not being liable to miſtakes. But his own words are the moſt ſatisfactory anſwer to this objection. "I muſt have been a "greater Traveller than either the "*Greek Ulyſſes*, or the *Engliſh Mande-*

vil,

Certam. Epiſt. 369.

" *ville*, all *Purchaſe* his " *Pilgrims*, many of our " late *Jeſuites* and *Tom Coriot* into the " bargain, if in deſcribing of the whole " world, with all the Kingdoms, Pro- " vinces, Seas and Iſles thereof, I had " not relied more on the Credit of " others, than any knowledg of my " own. But if any Gentleman, Mer- " chant, or other Traveller ſhall pleaſe " to let me underſtand in what thoſe " Authors, which I truſted, have miſ- " informed me, let it be done in jeſt or " earneſt, in love or anger, in a fair man- " ner or a foul, with reſpect or diſ-re- " ſpect unto me, in what way ſoever, I " ſhall moſt thankfully receive the In- " ſtructions from him, and give him the " honour of the Reformation, when " that Book ſhall come out in another " Edition. I will neither kick againſt " thoſe who rub upon ſuch ſores as I " have about me, nor fling dirt on them " who ſhall take the pains to beſtow a " bruſhing on my Coat. I was trained " up, when I was a Child, to kiſs the Rod,

" Rod, and I can do it, I thank God, " now I am a man.

Cur neſcire pudens pravæ quam diſcere mallem?

" Rather to be aſhamed of miſtaking " in any thing I have written, than to " learn of any body what I was to " write, was taken by me both for a " Rule and a Reſolution in the firſt put- " ting out of my *Geography*, and I ſhall " be at the very ſame paſs to the very " laſt.

In the year 1653. he removed to *Lacies-Court* in *Abingdon*. For being " robb'd of his choiceſt Companions, his Books; he reſolved to fix himſelf as near as poſſibly he could to *Oxford*; loſs of time, together with the charge and trouble of a Journey, rendring his Viſits leſs frequent to the *Bodleian* Library, than would well comport with his condition. For although he was a *Living Library*, *a Locomotive*

As *Euſcapius* ſaid of *Longinus*.

Study, a Scribe fully inſtructed in the Kingdom of God, a Houſholder that could bring out of his Treaſury things both new and old, yet for all that he reſolved to continue a laborious Searcher after Wiſdom, and gave his Fleſh no reſt, that he might entertain his mind with the nobleſt Contemplations: neither would he fix his thoughts upon notional and uſeleſs Speculations, but whenever he could by any kind of labour either of Body or Brain be really ſerviceable to the juſt Intereſts of his Prince or Church, he refuſed no pains or expences, but would undergo (to others) the moſt unſupportable burthens, to teſtifie his zealous affection unto both. One inſtance of which is evident in what he contributed to Saint *Nicholas* Church in *Abingdon*, the utter demoliſhing of which was reſolved on by the Sacrilegious Schiſmaticks of thoſe times.

The then *Uſurping Powers* had by the ſevereſt *Edicts* ſolemnly interdicted the Regular Clergy, the diſcharge of

of their publick Miniſtry in the ſacred Offices of Religion: Nay they were forbid the teaching and inſtructing of Youth in all private houſes, though they wanted the neceſſaries of Humane Life for themſelves and Families. In which ſad proſpect of Affairs, our *Divine* built a private *Oratory*, where he had frequency of *Synaxes*; the *Liturgy* of the Church being daily read by him, and the Holy *Euchariſt* adminiſtred as often as opportunity gave leave; many devout and well-affected perſons, after the manner of the Primitive Chriſtians when they lived under Heathen perſecutions, reſorting to his little Chappel, that there they might wreſtle with the Almighty for his bleſſing upon themſelves, and upon a divided infatuated people. But in a few years, the rage of the *Higher Powers* abating, the *Liturgy* of the Church began in ſome places to be publickly read; and Mr. *Huiſh* (then Miniſter in *Abingdon*) had a numerous Auditory of Loyal perſons, who frequented publick Prayers

at St. *Nicholas*; which became so greatly offensive to the Factious party, that they laboured all they could to have the Church raz'd to its very Foundations: But notwithstanding the Authority which then ruled, God rendred the endeavours of Dr. *Heylyn* and some other *Royallists* successful in the preservation of his own house. And because Mr. *Huish* either out of a principle of prudence or fear had for some time whilst those contests continued, desisted from performing the sacred Offices of Religion, therefore our Doctor to animate him unto the performance of his Duty, sent him the following Letter after his return from *London*, where he had been soliciting in the common Cause of the Church, which was to have been laid even with the ground.

SIR,

"We are much beholden to you for "your chearful condescending unto our "desires, so for as to the Lords-days "Service; which though it be *Opus Diei*

" *Diei in Die ſuo*, yet we cannot think
" our ſelves to be fully maſters of our
" requeſts, till you have yielded to be-
" ſtow your pains on the other days al-
" ſo. We hope in reaſonable time to al-
" ter the condition of Mr. *Blackwel's*
" pious Gift, that without hazzarding
" the loſs of his Donation, which
" would be an irrecoverable blow unto
" this poor Pariſh, you may ſue out
" your *Quietus eſt* from that daily At-
" tendance, unleſs you find ſome fur-
" ther motives and inducements to per-
" ſuade you to it: yet ſo to alter it, that
" there ſhall be no greater wrong done
" to his Intentions, than to moſt part
" of the Founders of each Univerſity,
" by changing Prayers for the Souls
" firſt by them intended, into a Com-
" memoration of their Bounties as was
" practiſed. All diſpoſitions of this
" kind muſt vary with thoſe changes
" which befal the Church, or elſe be
" alienated and eſtranged to other pur-
" poſes. I know it muſt be ſome diſ-
" couragement to you to read to Walls,

"or to pray in publick with ſo thin a
"company, as hardly will amount to
"a Congregation: But withal I deſire
"you to conſider, that *magis* and *minus*,
"all *Logicians* ſay, do not change the
"*Species* of things; that Quantities of
"themſelves are of little efficacy (if at
"all of any) and that he who promiſed
"to be in the midſt of two or three
"when they meet together in his
"name, hath clearly ſhewed, that
"even the ſmalleſt Congregations ſhall
"not want his preſence. And why
"then ſhould we think much to beſtow
"our pains where he vouchſafes his
"preſence? or think our labour ill be-
"ſtowed, if ſome few only do partake
"of the preſent benefit? And yet no
"doubt the benefit extends to more than
"the parties preſent: For you know
"well that the Prieſt or Miniſter is not
"only to pray with, but for the peo-
"ple; that he is not only to offer up
"the peoples Prayers to Almighty God,
"but to offer up his own Prayers for
"them; the benefit whereof may cha-
ritably

"ritably be presumed to extend to, as
"well as it was intended for, the ab-
"sent also. And if a whole Nation may
"be represented in a Parliament of
"400 persons, and they derive the
"Blessings of Peace and Comfort upon
"all the Land, why may we not con-
"ceive that God will look on three or
"four of this little Parish, as the *Re-*
"*presentative* of the whole, and for
"their sakes extend his Grace and Bles-
"sings unto all the rest; that he who
"would have saved that sinful City
"of *Sodom*, had he found but ten
"righteous persons in it, may not
"vouchsafe to bless a less sinful people
"upon the Prayers of a like or less
"number of Pious and Religious per-
"sons. When the High Priest went in-
"to the *Sanctum Sanctorum* to make
"Atonement for the Sins of the Peo-
"ple, went he not thither by himself?
"none of the people being suffered to
"enter into that place. Do not we read,
"that when *Zacharias* offered up In-
"cense, which figured the Prayers of

" the Saints within the Temple, the
" people waited all that while in the
" outward Courts? Or find we any
" where that the Prieſt, who offered
" up the daily Sacrifice (and this comes
" neareſt to our Caſe) did ever intermit
" that Office by reaſon of the ſlackneſs
" or indevotion of the people in repai-
" ring to it? But you will ſay *There is*
" *a Lion in the way*, there is danger in
" it. Aſſuredly I hope none at all; or
" if any, none that you would care for.
" The Sword of the *Committee* had as
" ſharp an edg, and was managed
" with as ſtrong a malice, as any Or-
" dinance of later *Date* can impower
" men with. Having ſo fortunately e-
" ſcaped the danger of that. why
" ſhould you think of any thing but
" deſpiſing this? as *Tully* did unto
" *Mark Antonie, Catilinæ Gladios con-*
" *tempſi, non timebo tuos.* Why may you
" not conclude with *David* in the like
" ſenſe and apprehenſions of Gods pre-
" ſervation, that he who ſaved him
" from the Bear and the Lion, would
alſo

"alſo ſave him from the Sword of that
"railing *Philiſtine*. And you may ſee
" that the Divine Providence is ſtill a-
"wake over that poor Remnant of
" the Regular and Orthodox Clergy,
"which have not yet bowed their knees
" to the *Golden Calves* of late erected,
"by putting ſo unexpectedly a hook
"into the noſtrils of thoſe *Leviathans*
"which threatned with an open mouth
" to devour them all. I will not ſay
" as *Clemens* of *Alexandria* did in a
"caſe much like that, it is ἀνδρὸς ἐσν τὸ,
"to indulge too much to apprehenſi-
"ons of this nature in matters which
"relate to Gods publick Service. All
"I ſhall add is briefly this, that ha-
" ving preſented you with theſe Conſi-
"derations, I ſhall with greedineſs ex-
" pect the ſounding of the Bell to mor-
" row morning; and in the mean time
"make my Prayers to Almighty God
"ſo to direct you in this buſineſs, as
"may be moſt for his Glory, your
"own particular Comfort, and the
"good of this people: with which ex-
preſſi-

" preſſions of my Soul, I ſubſcribe
" my ſelf,

Your moſt affectionate Friend
and Brother in Chriſt Jeſus

Peter Heylyn.

Upon the receipt and reading of this Letter, Mr. *Huiſh* betook himſelf to his wonted duty, reading the Churches Prayers with that frequency, gravity and devotion as became a man of his Reverence and Profeſſion.

And the daily viſits which were paid by our Doctor to the place of Gods publick Worſhip, the better enabled him as well to undergo the ſeverity of Study, as to contend with the hardſhips of Fortune. And amongſt the products of his Studies, the *Theologia Veterum* or Expoſition of the Apoſtles *Creed* does firſt merit our Commendations. Indeed many other Books were written by him, when the King and Church were in their low and calamitous condition;

dition; ſome of which were *Hiſtorical* relating to matters of *Fact*; ſome *Political*, relating to the power of Princes and various Forms of Government; and laſtly others *Theological*; and thoſe either *Didactical*, tending to the ſettling and informing of mens underſtandings; or *Practical*, that conduced to the amending of their manners; or *Polemical*, that vindicated the Truths of God and Unity of his Church againſt the Errors, Schiſms and Perſecutions of its Enemies, whether *Papiſts*, *Socinians*, or *Diſciplinarians*. His Book upon the *Creed* is a mixture of all theſe excellent Ingredients; inſomuch that whoever would be acquainted with the Sence of the *Greek* and *Latine* Fathers upon the Twelve *Articles* of our Faith, as alſo with *Poſitive*, *Polemical* and *Philological Theology*, he will not find either his labour loſt, or his time miſpended, if he peruſe what our learned *Doctor* has writ upon that Subject.

But neither Learning or Innocency are a ſufficient ſafe-guard againſt the Aſſaults

aſſaults of miſchievous and malicious men; many of whom combined together to render Dr. *Heylyn* as infamous in his Name, as they had before made him improſperous in his Eſtate. And to that purpoſe they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to have one of his Books burned (called *Reſpondet Petrus*) by an Order from *Olivers Council-Table*. For Dr. *N. Bernard* Preacher of *Grays-Inn* putting out a Book, entituled, *The Judgment of the Lord Primate of* Ireland, *&c.* our Reverend *Doctor* being therein accuſed for violating his Subſcription and running croſs to the publick Doctrine of the Church of *England*; as alſo being taxed with Sophiſtry, Shameleſneſs, and ſome other things which he could not well endure either from the *Dead*, or the *Living*, he returned an Anſwer to it, againſt which, *Articles* were preſently formed and preſented to the then *Council-Table*; and the common Rumor went, that the Book was publickly burnt: A fame (as the * Doctor

* *Certam Epiſt.* 109.

Doctor ſays) that had little truth in it, though more colour for it, than many other charges which had been laid upon him. He was in *London*, when he received the firſt notice of it; and though he was perſuaded by his friends to neglect the matter, as that which would redound to his honour, and knew very well what Sentence had been paſſed by *Tacitus* upon the Order of *Senate*, or *Roman Conſul* for burning the Books of *Cremutius Cordus* the *Hiſtorian*, *Neque aliud externi Reges, aut qui eâdem ſævitiâ uſi ſunt, niſi dedecus ſibi atque illis gloriam peperere*, *i. e.* they gained nothing but ignominy to themſelves and glory to all thoſe whoſe Books they burnt; yet our Doctor was rather in that particular of Sir *John Falſtaff*'s mind, not liking ſuch grinning honour; and therefore rather choſe to prevent the Obloquy, than boaſt in it. To which purpoſe he applied himſelf to the Lord Mayor of *London* and a great Man in the *Council* of *Tacit. An. lib. 4.*

of *State*, and receiving from them a true information of what had paſſed, he left his Solicitude, being quite freed from all fear and danger.

About this time it was that the King, Church and Church-men were arraigned and traduced by many voluminous Writers of the Age; and the Doctor being ſolicited to anſwer them by Letters, Meſſages and ſeveral perſonal Addreſſes, by men of all Orders and Dignities in the Church, and of all Degrees in the Univerſities, was at laſt overcome by their Importunities; the irreſiſtible Intreaties of ſo many Friends having ſomething in them of Commands. And the firſt Author, whoſe Miſtakes, Falſities and Defects he examined, was Mr. *Thomas Fuller* the *Church-Hiſtorian*, who intermingling his *Hiſtory* with ſome dangerous Poſitions, which if reduced into practice, would overthrow the Power of the *Church*, and lay a probable Foundation for Diſturbances in the *Civil-State*; the Doctor made ſome *Animadverſions* on him by way

way of *Antidote*, that ſo, if poſſible, he might be read without danger. Another was Mr. *Sanderſon*'s long *Hiſtory* of the Life and Reign of King *Charles* I. whoſe errors being of that nature as might miſ-guide the Reader in the way of Knowledg and Diſcourſe, our *Doctor* rectified him with ſome *Advertiſements*, that ſo he might be read with the greater profit. It would ſwell theſe Papers into too great a bulk, if I ſhould give a particular account of the Conteſts that this Reverend man had with Mr. *Harington*, Mr. *Hickman*, and Mr. *Baxter*; the laſt of which was ſo very bold as to diſgorge himſelf upon the whole Clergy of *England* in his *Grotian* Religion, *which cauſed* in our Doctor, (as he tells his Brethren the old Regular Clergy) *ſo great an horror and amazement, that he could not tell whether or no he could give any credit to his Senſes; the words ſounding loud in his ears and not ſinking at firſt into his heart.* Neither Did Mr. *Baxter* arraign

Epiſt. Ded. before *Cert. Epiſt.*

raign the whole Clergy in general, but more particularly directed his Spleen againſt Dr. *Heylyn*; whoſe name he *wiſh'd* afterwards *he had ſpared.* But it was whilſt he was living; he has made more bold with him ſince he was dead; and that for no other reaſon (that I can learn) but for expoſing the Follies, Falſhoods, and uncharitableneſs of a daring and raſh Writer, who never returned one word of Anſwer (beſides Railing and Reproaches) unto what our *Doctor* Publiſhed againſt him.

And having made mention of theſe Authors, againſt whom our excellent Doctor appeared in the Liſts, it may not perhaps be deemed unacceptable to thoſe Readers who are either unable to buy, or unwilling to read the Books written againſt them, to tranſcribe ſome particular paſſages which may be a farther teſtification of the zeal of this great Scholar for the King and Church.

And the firſt (relating to the King) ſhall be about the *Coronation*; it being a piece

a piece of new *State-Doctrine*, that the *Coronation* of the King ſhould depend upon the conſent of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament. For in the Form and Manner of the *Coronation* of King *Edward* VI. deſcribed in the *Catalogue of Honour*, ſet forth by *Thomas Mills* of *Canterbury*, *Anno Dom.* 1610, we find it thus: "The King being carried by certain "Noble Courtiers in another Chair un- "to the four ſides of the Stage, was by "the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* decla- "red to the people ſtanding round a- "bout, both by Gods and mans Laws "to be the Right and Lawful King of "*England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and "proclaimed that day to be Crowned, "Conſecrated and Anointed: unto "whom he demanded, Whether they "would Obey and Serve, or not? By "whom it was again with a loud cry "anſwered, *God ſave the King, and ever "live his Majeſty.* The ſame we have in ſubſtance both in fewer words in the

Exam. Hiſtor. 201.

Coronation of King *James*; where it is ſaid, "The King was ſhewed to the "people, and that they were required "to make acknowledgment of their Al- "legiance to his Majeſty by the Arch- "biſhop, which they did with Accla- "mations. But aſſuredly (ſays Dr. *Heylyn*) the difference is exceeding vaſt between *Obeying* and *Conſenting*; between the peoples *acknowledging their Allegiance, and promiſing to Obey and Serve their Lawful* Sovereign, *and giving their Conſent* to his *Coronation*, as if it could not be performed without it. This makes the King to be either made or unmade by his people, according to the *Maxim* of *Buchanan*, *Populo jus eſt, imperium cui velit deferat:* than which paſſage there is nothing in all his Books more peſtilent or ſeditious.

Neither is another *Poſition* any leſs derogatory to Regal Power, *viz. That Parliaments are to be Aſſiſtant to the King in the exerciſe of his Regal Government.* Unto which our excellent *Doctor* ſays, "That Parliaments or "Com-

"Common-Councils con-
"ſiſting of the Prelates, Cert. Epiſt. 243.
"Peers and other great
"men of the Realm were frequently
"held in the time of the *Saxon* Kings,
"and that the *Commons* were firſt cal-
"led to thoſe great Aſſemblies at the
"Coronation of K. *Henry* I. to the end
"that his Succeſſion to the Crown be-
"ing approved by the Nobility and
"People, he might have the better co-
"lour to exclude his Brother. And as
"the Parliament was not inſtituted by
"King *Henry* III. ſo was it not inſtitu-
"ted by him to become an *Aſſiſtant* to
"him in the Government, unleſs it
"were from ſome of the Declarations
"of the *Commons* in the *Long Parlia-*
"*ment*, in which it is frequently af-
"firmed, *That the Fundamental Go-*
"*vernment of this Realm is by King,*
"*Lords and Commons*; which if ſo, then
"what became of the Government of
"this Kingdom under *Henry* III. when
"he had no ſuch Aſſiſtants joyned with
"him? Or what became of the Foun-

" dation in the Intervals of following
" Parliaments, when there was neither
" *Lords* nor *Commons* on which the Go-
" vernment could be laid? And there-
" fore it must be apparently necessary,
" either that the Parliaments were not
" instituted by King *Henry* III. to be
" his *Assistants* in the Government; or
" else that for the greatest space of time
" since *Henry* III. the Kingdom hath
" been under no Government at all for
" want of such *Assistants*. And I would
" fain learn, who should be Judg tou-
" ching the *Fitness* or *Unfitness* of such
" Laws and Liberties, by which the
" People and Nobility are to be grati-
" fied by their Kings: For if the Kings
" themselves must judg it, it is not
" likely that they will part with any
" of their just Prerogatives, which
" might make them less obeyed at
" home, or less feared abroad, but
" where invincible necessity or violent
" importunity might force them to it.
" And then the Laws and Liberties,
" which were so extorted were either
vio-

" violated or annulled whenſoever the
" *Granter* was in power to weaken or
" make void the *Grant*; for *Malus diu-*
" *turnitatis Cuſtos eſt metus*. But if the
" People muſt be Judges of ſuch Laws
" and Liberties as were fitteſt for them,
" there would be no end of their De-
" mands, unreaſonable in their own
" nature and in number infinite. For
" when they meet with a King of the
" *Giving hand*, they will preſs him ſo
" to give from one point to another, till
" he give away Royalty it ſelf; and if
" they be not ſatisfied in all their *Ask-*
" *ings*, they will be pleaſed with none of
" his former *Grants*.

But that which pared the Prerogative to the quick, was, that the *Reformation* of Religion was the Province of the People, or that they might do their Duty in the buſineſs when the King omitted his; concerning which our excellent *Doctor* delivers his judgment in theſe clear and convincing words, [*Exam. Hiſt.* 135.] " That Idola-
" try is to be deſtroyed by all them that

" have power to do it, is eaſily granted.
" But then it muſt be underſtood of law-
" ful Power, and not permitted to the li-
" berty of unlawful violence, *Id poſſumus*
"*quod jure poſſumus*, was the Rule of old,
" and it hath held good in all attempts
" for Reformation in the elder times.
" For when the Fabrick of the *Jewiſh*
" Church was out of order, and the
" whole Worſhip of the Lord either de-
" filed with Superſtitions, or intermin-
" gled with Idolatries, as it was too of-
" ten; did not Gods Servants tarry and
" wait for leiſure, till thoſe who were
" Supreme both in Place and Power,
" were by him prompted and inflamed
" to a Reformation? How many years
" had that whole People made an Idol
" of the *Brazen-Serpent* and burnt In-
" cenſe to it, before it was defaced by
" *Hezekiah*? How many more might
" it have ſtood longer undefac'd, un-
" touch'd by any of the common Peo-
" ple, had not the King given order to
" demoliſh it? How many years had the
" ſeduced *Iſraelites* adored before the
Altar

" *Altar* at *Bethel*, before it was hewn
" down and cut in pieces by the good
" *Josiah*? And yet it cannot be denied
" but that it was much in the power of
" the *Jews* to destroy that *Idol*, and of
" the honest and Religious *Israelites*
" to break down that *Altar*, as it ei-
" ther was or could be in the power of
" our *English* Zealots to beat down *Su-*
" *perstitious Pictures* and Images, had
" they been so minded. *Solomon* in the
" Book of *Canticles* compares the
" Church to an *Army*, *Acies castrorum*
" *ordinata*, as the *Vulgar* hath it; *An*
" *Army terrible with Banners*, as we
" read it: A powerful Body without
" doubt, able which way soever it
" moves to wast and destroy the Coun-
" try, to burn and sack the Villages
" through which it passes. And que-
" stionless many of the Soldiers know-
" ing their own *Power*, would be apt
" to do it, if not restrained by the Au-
" thority of their Com- *Tacit. Hist. l. 1.*
" manders and the *Laws*
" of War. *Ita se ducum Authoritas, sic*

"*gor diſciplinæ habet*, as we find in "*Tacitus*. And if thoſe be not kept as "they ought to be, *Confuſi equites pedi-* "*teſque in exitium ruunt*; the whole runs "to a ſwift deſtruction. Thus it is al- "ſo in the Church with the Camp of "God; If there be no ſubordination "in it, if every one might do what he "liſt himſelf, and make ſuch uſes of "that power and opportunity as he "thinks are put into his hands; what "a confuſion would inſue? how ſpeedy "a calamity muſt needs fall upon it? "Courage and zeal do never ſhew "more zealouſly in inferiour powers, "than when they are ſubordinate unto "good Directions, from the right hand, "*i. e.* from the Supreme Magiſtrate, "not from the intereſts and paſſions of "their Fellow-Subjects. It is the "Princes Office to Command, and "theirs to execute; with which wiſe "Caution the Emperor *Otho* once re- "preſt the too great forwardneſs of his "Soldiers, when he found them apt "enough to make uſe of that power

in

"in a matter not com- *Tacit.* Hiſt. l. 1.
"manded by him. *Vobis*
"*arma & animus, mihi Concilium &*
"*virtutis veſtræ Regimen relinquite,*
"as his words are. He underſtood their
"Duty and his own Authority; al-
"lows them to have power and will,
"but regulates and reſtrains them both
"unto his own Command. So that
"whether we behold the Church in its
"own condition, proceeding by the
"ſtarrant and examples of Holy Scri-
"pture; or in reſemblance to an Ar-
"my (as compared by *Solomon*) there
"will be nothing left to the power of
"the people either in way of Reforma-
"mation or Execution, till they be ve-
"ſted and entruſted with ſome lawful
"Power derived from him, whom God
"hath placed in Authority over them.
"And therefore though Idolatry be to
"be deſtroyed, and to be deſtroyed by
"all which have Power to do it, yet
"muſt all thoſe be furniſh'd with a
"lawful Power, or otherwiſe ſtand
"guilty of as high a Crime, as that
which

" which they ſo zealouſly endeavour
" to condemn in others. And if it be
" urged, *That the Sovereign forgetting*
" *his Duty, the Subjects ſhould remember*
" *theirs*; 'tis a leſſon which was never
" taught in the Book of God. For be-
" ſide the examples which we have in
" demoliſhing the *Brazen-Serpent* and
" the *Altar of Bethel*, not acted by
" the Power of the People, but by the
" Command of the Prince, I would
" fain know where we ſhall find in the
" whole courſe and current of Holy
" Scriptures, that the common people in
" and by their own Authority, removed
" the *High Places*, and deſtroyed *Ima-*
" *ges*, or cut down the *Groves*, thoſe
" excellent Inſtruments of Superſtition
" and Idolatry; or that they did at-
" tempt any ſuch thing till warranted
" and commiſſionated by the Supreme
" Powers? Where ſhall we find that
" any of the ſeventy thouſand perſons,
" which *had not bowed the knee to Baal*,
" did go about to deſtroy that Idol?
" or that *Elijah* or *Eliſha* (two men as
extra-

"extraordinary for their Calling, as for "their Zeal and Courage) did excite "them to it? Where ſhall we find the "Primitive Chriſtians, when living un-"der the command of Heatheniſh Em-"perors, buſied in deſtroying Idols, "or defacing the Temples of thoſe "gods, whom the *Pagans* worſhipped, "though grown in thoſe times unto "thoſe infinite multitudes, that they "filled all places of the Empire, *Et* "*veſtra omnia implevimus*, Cities, Ca-"ſtles, Burroughs, your places of Aſ-"ſembly, Camps, Tribes, Palaces, yea "the very Senate and common *Forum*, "as *Tertullian* pleads. No other Do-"ctrine preach'd or heard of, till either "the new Goſpel of *Wickliff*, or the "new Lights ſhining from *Geneva*.

Theſe, with many more if it were ſafe to inſert them in theſe Papers, were the Doctrines which this Reverend man taught when there was no King in our *Engliſh Iſrael*. He did not only reſcue the actions of his Sovereigns Life and Reign from thoſe Calumnies

Calumnies and Miſtakes which were obtruded on him by malicious or inobſervant Writers; but he took care that what he writ ſhould be beneficial to Regal Government, and that thoſe his Country-men who had any ſhare of guilt in the unnatural Rebellion might be induced to a hearty Contrition and Reformation. And this he did too in thoſe days of Libertiniſm and Danger, when he could expect nothing for his pains, but Death mingled with all the ingredients of Cruelty and Torment. Suffice it to acquaint the Reader that Dr. *Bates* imparted to his judicious peruſal his *Elenchus Motuum*, (a ſecret of that weight and importance that it ought only to be lodg'd in ſo faithful and loyal a Breaſt) upon which he made many *Conſiderations*, that very much tended to the honor of the King and Church, as well as of that loyal *Phyſician* and *Hiſtorian*. And which is not unworthy of remark; in whatever he Writ or Preach'd either before or after the Murther of his Royal Maſter,

he

he took care in asserting the Prerogative and Rights of the Crown, not to intrench the least upon the Liberties and Privileges of the People. For thus he himself acquaints us, [*Cert. Epist.* 326.] "If any were faulty in this kind, *viz.* in "maintaining that all the Goods of the "Subject were at the Kings absolute "disposal, let them speak for themselves; "neither my Tongue nor Pen shall ever "be employed in their behalf: Certain "I am, that I am free enough from the "Accusation; my nearest kindred be"ing persons of too fair a Fortune to be "betrayed by one of their own Blood "to a loss of that property, which "they have by Law in their Estates. "And no less certain am I, that no flat"tery or time-serving, no preaching up "of the Kings Prerogative, nor dero"gating from the property of the *Eng*"*lish Subject*, could be found in any of "my Sermons before his Majesty, had "they been sifted to the very *Bran*. In "confidence whereof, I offered the "*Committee* of the *Courts of Justice* (be-

fore

" fore whom I was called on the Com-
" plaint of Mr. *Pryn*) to put into their
" hands all the Sermons which I had
" either Preach'd at *Court* or in *Weſt-*
" *minſter-Abby*, to the end they might
" ſee how free and innocent I was from
" broaching any ſuch new Doctrines,
" as might not be good *Parliament-*
" *Proof*, whenſoever they ſhould come
" to be examined.

Nor was the courage of our *Doctor* for the Church, leſs active and vigorous, than for the King. For whenever its *Doctrine*, or *Diſcipline*; its *Miniſtry*, or *Government*; its *Liturgy*, or *Ceremonies*; its *Offices*, or *Revenues* were aſſaulted by Tongue or Pen, its enemies were in a ſhort ſpace of time made acquainted with their Malice or Miſtakes. For he encountred the Errors and Hereſies, the Schiſms and Sacrileges, the Diſloyalties and Rebellions of the Age with no leſs zeal than St. *Paul* did the groſs Idolatries and Superſtitions of the *Athenians*.

The

The *Doctrines* of the Church he defended againſt *Papiſts* and *Calviniſts*. What he did againſt the firſt will be a ſufficient vindication of his ſincerity in the *Proteſtant* Religion; a thing not only doubted of, but called in queſtion in the Long Parliament; before whom he made a large *Proteſtation* touching his ſoundneſs in Religion and his averſeneſs from *Popery*. The Form of his *Proteſtation* I never had communicated to me; but whatever it was, he was then freed by it from all ſuſpicion of that *Crimination* in the judgment of all ſober men. He had before ſet himſelf right in the opinion of the King and the whole Court in the Sermons which he Preach'd upon the Parable of the *Tares*. For making the principal points controverted between *Us* and the *Papiſts* the conſtant Arguments of his Diſcourſes upon that Subject, his Auditory were ſo well ſatisfied about his integrity in *Proteſtantiſm*, that ſome of the moſt judicious did not ſtick to ſay, *That Dr.* Heylyn *had in his Tare-Ser-*

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mons pulled up Popery by the Root and ſubverted the Foundations of it: To which it was replied by ſome bitter ſpirits (whether with more uncharitableneſs or imprudent zeal, is hard to ſay) That *the* Archbiſhop *might Print and Dr.* Heylyn *might Preach what they pleaſed againſt* Popery, *but they ſhould never believe them to be any thing the leſs* Papiſts *for all that.* A cenſure of a very ſtrange nature, and ſo little ſavouring of Chriſtianity, that it is hard to parallel it by any inſtance, except it be of the Age we now live in. And ſo induſtrious has the Devil, the great *Calumniator and Accuſer* of Holy men, been to propagate this Reproach, that ſome perſons, whoſe *Tongues are their own* and will admit of *no Lords over them*, have viſited the very Grave of this Reverend perſon and like *Vultures* prey'd upon his body. Amongſt whom, the Author of that peſtilent Pamphlet, called *An Appeal from the Country to the City*, lets flie at him in theſe words, *Dr.* Heylyn *has*

Page 6.

has made more Papiſts by his Books than Chriſtians by his Sermons. And Dr. *Heylyn,* though dead, does yet ſpeak for himſelf to the eternal confutation of the *Calumny,* as well as ſhame of the *Calumniator.* The preſent *Dean* of St. *Pauls* has very generouſly juſtified the *Doctor* againſt *T. G.* who by all means would have brought him over to his Cauſe and Party in the Controverſie between them, about the Idolatry of the *Roman* Church, quoting a paſſage out of his fourth Sermon upon the *Tares,* where he lays to the charge of the *Papiſts* the moſt *groſs Idolatry, greater than which, was never known among the Gentiles.* And indeed the whole Volume of thoſe Sermons is ſtudiouſly contrived againſt *Popery*; and put out on purpoſe in the laſt times of Confuſion, by our *Doctor,* to obſtruct the ſpreading of that Canker of Chriſtianity. And when he had preach'd only the two firſt, ſome of his judici-

General Preface to an Anſwer of ſeveral Treatiſes.

ous hearers did not ſtick to declare, That Dr. *Heylyn had done more in two Sermons for the Suppreſſion of* Popery, *than ever Dr.* Pr. *had done in all his life.*

But that the Reader may be convinc'd about the *Doctors* ſincerity in *Proteſtantiſm*, let it be conſidered that never any Writer upon the Apoſtles *Creed* did more induſtriouſly expoſe and ſtrenuouſly confute the Errors of the *Roman* Church, than he does in his Treatiſe upon that Subject; which was put out alſo at that time, when he and the *exauctorated* Clergy (as he calls them) had all the provocations of want and ſcorn to have forſaken a perſecuted Church and embraced *Popery*. He diſproves their * *Traditions*: And as for their *Idolatry*, he ſpeaks in theſe words, *That altho they publickly profeſs but one Sovereign God, yet the poor Chriſtians in the Roman Church are taught every where to place their confidence in more*

* Preface to *Theo. Vet.* p. 13.

Theol. Vet. p. 27, 28. Edit. 1.

more local Saints, than ever Heathen-Rome did muſter of its Topical gods. — And how in *a very little time* Rome-*Chriſtian came to have more Tutelary Saints and Patrons (and thoſe too of each Sex) than ever Heathen-*Rome *ſhould gods, or goddeſſes.*——*Neither is this any ſtudied Calumny, but ſo clear a Truth, that it was never yet gain-ſaid by their greateſt Advocates: ſo much hath Rome relapſed into her ancient Gentiliſm*, revived again ſo many of her gods and goddeſſes, *that both* Jews and Infidels *may have cauſe to queſtion, whether ſhe doth believe in one God alone, or that he only is the Almighty Father, whom the* Creed *mentions.* Neither does he ſtick in generals, but particularly proves the *Popiſh* Idolatries in (*b*) Worſhiping Saints and Angels, and imploying them as Mediators unto God; in (*c*) adoring the Bleſſed Virgin, and beſtowing thoſe blaſphemous Titles of *Mater miſericordiæ*, *Mater*

(b) *Ib.* 72.

(c) *Ib.* 152.

Gratiæ, Regina Cœli, &c. in (*d*) Worſhipping the Croſs, and the impudence of thoſe Writers that defend it; in (*e*) the *Invocation of Saints*, ſhewing how it firſt came to be introduced in the Church, together with the unlawfulneſs and danger of that Doctrine and practice, from Scripture, Reaſon and the Fathers; anſwering the Objections made by School-men and others for it; proving that that Doctrine, together with that of Worſhippiug of Images is a Fruit of *Gentiliſm*; and ſhewing the vanity of their diſtinctions; as alſo upon what ground the device of *Purgatory* is obtruded on us, and how 'tis rejected as well by the whole *Greek* Church, as by the ancient Fathers.

(d) *Ib.* 187.

(e) *Ib.* 418, 419, 420.

(f) 130. He (*f*) cenſures the whole herd of *School-men*, telling how they have *intangled the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Faith within the labyrinth of curious and intricate*

tricate diſtinctions, inſomuch that it became at laſt a matter of great wit and judgment to know what was believed in the things of Chriſt. He (g) expoſes thoſe impure Blaſphemies that the *Papiſts* fix upon the Holy Spirit and Bleſſed Virgin-Mother, unmasking the obſcenities of the lazy *Monks* and *Friers*, who fancied themſelves to have had unclean commixtures with her: relating the Bull of Pope *Leo* 10. that gave *Tekelius* a *Dominican* Frier *authority to abſolve any man whatſoever, etiamſi virginem matrem vitiaverit, although he had defloured the Virgin-Mother.* (h) Perſtringing thoſe that would free her from the contagion of all *Venial* and *Original* Sin; and aſſert her Virginity ſo far, as to extend it to the integrity of her Body as well as purity of her Mind; and (i) condemning *Maldonate* for not only making Chriſt, but God the Father inferior

(g) 138.

(h) 152.

(i) 277.

to her. He (k) largely disproves the monstrous Paradox of *Transubstantiation*, which he shews was hammered in the brains of capricious *School-men*, (*ib.*) and that the Sacrifice of the *Mass* is a dangerous deceit and blasphemous Fable affabulated to *Transubstantiation* by the Popes of *Rome*; the Rise and absurd consequences of which Doctrine he at large illustrates. He is content (l) to be accounted a *Heretick* by the *Papists*, because he will admit of no more *Mediators of Intercession* than Christ, who is the *Mediator of Redemption*. He (m) confutes the strange Positions of the *Trent-Council* about the *Mass*, shewing how absurd it is that a *poor Priest should have power to make his Maker*; *and having made him with the Breath of his Mouth, he should fall down and Worship what himself had made*: *That having worship'd him as*

(k) 195. (*ib.*) 269, 270, 294. (l) 292. (m) 294.

God,

God, he ſhould preſume to lay hands upon him, and Offer him in Sacrifice as ſoon as Worſhip'd; that his Oblation once made is efficacious both to Quick and Dead; to the Abſent and the Preſent; and that ſuch as are preſent at it, may, if they find their ſtomachs ſerve, devour their God. He (*n*) attacks the *Papiſts* in the *Fundamental* of their Religion, *viz.* That Chriſt muſt have the Pope for his *Vice-Roy* to ſupply his place and abſence, and to govern and direct his Church in Peace and Unity; and he (*o*) again re-aſſumes the Argument and confutes all that *Bellarmin* and others produce for it. But then the miſchief is, he tells of thoſe, who would (*p*) *impoſe upon the Church as many petite Popes as there are Pariſhes——by means whereof they make Chriſts Body more monſtrous, than the Monſter* Hydra, *not to have ſeven Heads only, but ſeven hundred thouſand*——He takes

(n) 304.

(o) 384.

(p) 305.

(q) 332. (q) *Estius* to task for making Christ in his Exposition of *Mark* 13. 32. the

(r) 359. Author of *Equivocation*. He (*r*) confutes *Harding* for asserting, that the *proof of Christs Deity depended not upon the Holy Scriptures, but the Tradition of the Church, and the Authority of some subsequent Councils confirmed by* Popes; as if God could not be God, unless the *Pope* allowed it. He vindicates

(s) 361, 362. (*s*) the *Greek* Church against the uncharitableness of the *Roman*, and

(t) 371, 372. (*t*) the Authority and Honor of the Scriptures against the Blasphemies that are fixed upon them by the *Papists*; but then as luck would have it, he speaks of some *Reformers*, who assert that *Preaching* viva voce *is only able to convert sinners, and that the Word sermoniz'd, not written, is alone the Food that nourishes to eternal life*; and he proves unanswerably how such men

men detract more from its perfection and ſufficiency than the *Papiſts*. He condemns thoſe who call *Papiſts* by the name of *Catholicks*, profeſſing that he *never gave that name to them either in Writing or common Speech, as thinking it a greater condemnation to our ſelves than men are aware of——And that if we once grant them to be* Catholicks, *we thereby do conclude our ſelves to be no* Chriſtians. *De not. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 4.* Nay he proves out of *Bellarmin*, how they are delighted with the name of *Papiſts*, and that they have no mind to be called *Chriſtians*; the name in moſt parts of *Italy* being grown ſo deſpicable, that *Fool* and *Chriſtian* are become *Synonymous*. Since then (ſays the *Doctor*) they have no mind to be called *Chriſtians*, no reaſon to be called *Catholicks*, let us call them as they are, by the name of *Papiſts*, conſidering their dependence on the *Popes* deciſions for all points of Faith. But then he tells of another *Faction* that make as ill an uſe of the Title *Holy*, as

as the *Papists* do of the name *Catholick*; that are holy in the sense of *Corah* and his Factious *Complices*, who made all the Congregation *holy* and all *holy* alike. He gives also an excellent account of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* platforms, and (*u*) proves against both of them, that the Churches Government is not *Democratical*, and against the *Papists*, that 'tis not *Monarchical*, but in the judgment of the purest Antiquity *Aristocratical*. In a word, he (*w*) shews how both the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches opposed the *Popes Supremacy*, forced *Celibacy of Priests*, *Transubstantiation*, *Half-Communion*, *Purgatory*, *Worshiping of Images*, and *Auricular Confession*: Of which last Doctrine, he at large (*x*) states the whole business about it from Bishop *Morton*, shewing how it ought to be *free* in regard of *Conscience*, and

(u) 386, 387.

(w) 397, 398.

(x) 457, 458.

and *possible* in regard of *Performance*. But then withal he asserts the Efficacy and Power of the *Sacerdotal Absolution*, proving it not only *Declarative* but *Authoritative* and *Judicial*; as also the (y) Right that every *National* Church has to decree *Rites and Ceremonies* for the more orderly officiating in Gods Publick Worship, and the procuring of a greater degree of Reverence to the Holy Sacraments.

(y) 403, 404.

In the belief of these Doctrines, this great Scholar lived and died: And with what confidence can any one rake in his Grave and asperse his Memory, not only with things which he never opined, but with those which his soul ever abhorr'd? But, if there can be any accession to the degrees of Bliss in the other world, I doubt not but his Rewards are advanced and grow more massie with the persecutions which his name suffers upon earth. Our Blessed Saviour himself was not out of the reach of malevolent tongues, when his

Body

Body was laid in the Grave, being then called a *Deceiver* by his Murtherers. And thrice welcome are those aſperſions and miſ-conſtructions that make us conformable to ſo glorious a pattern. Spiteful and inconſiderate men do ever judg raſhly of things and perſons, taking a great pleaſure to aſſault the Innocence and undermine the Reputations of thoſe that are more upright and vertuous than themſelves.

Mat. 27. 63.

But againſt theſe things 'tis commonly ſaid, and as commonly believed, that ſome perſons, and thoſe too of the moſt illuſtrious Quality have been perverted from the *Proteſtant* Faith to *Popery*, by reading ſome of Dr. *Heylyn*'s Books, and particularly his *Eccleſia Reſtaurata*, or *Hiſtory of the Reformation*. And Dr. *Burnet* in the firſt Volume of his Hiſtory upon the ſame Subject, has done all he can to confirm the world in the belief of that injurious imputation: For after a ſhort commendation of our *Doctors* ſtile and me-

method (it being uſual with ſome men ſlightly to praiſe thoſe at firſt, whom they deſign to laſh more ſeverely afterward) he preſumes to tell his Reader, *That either Doctor* Heylyn *was very ill informed, or very much led by his Paſſions; and he being wrought on by moſt violent prejudices againſt ſome that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in ſuch a manner and ſo ſtrangely, that one would think that he had been ſecretly ſet on to it by thoſe of the Church of* Rome, *tho I doubt not he was a ſincere Proteſtant, but violently carried away by ſome particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excuſed, That he never vouch'd any Authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven any who write of Tranſactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what ground he wrote a great deal of his Book, we can only conjecture; and many in their gheſſes are not apt to be very favourable to him.* This

Dr. *Burnet's* Preface to the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, Vol. I.

This Objection containing many particulars in it, will require as many distinct Answers in the Vindication of the *Doctors* Honor and Writings, and more especially of his *History of the Reformation.*

And first, if it be true, that any have embraced the *Roman* Faith by reading of that Book, we may conclude them very incompetent Judges in matters of Religion, who will be prevailed on to change it upon the perusal of one single *History*; and especially in the Controversies between *Us* and the *Papists*, which do not so very much depend upon matters of *Fact*, or upon an *Historical* Narration of what occurrences happened in *England*, in the Reigns of any of our preceding Princes; but upon Doctrines of *Faith*, *viz.* what we are to believe or dis-believe in order to our pleasing of God in this life, and our being eternally blessed with him in the next. Altho *Junius* and others have by their reading of Holy Writ found the efficacy of it upon

on their hearts, and from profligate *Atheists* have become Gods faithful Servants; yet the blessed Doctrine of the Bible, has through the depravation of mans Nature, had a quite contrary efficacy upon other persons; being just like wholsom meat which administers health and vigor unto Athletick and sound Bodies, but infeebles nature and feeds the diseases of those that are sickly and distempered. Let the *History of the Reformation* be never so fatal to unwary and less intelligent Readers, yet it was writ with an intent to justifie the *Reformation*, and that upon such *just and solid Reasons as might sufficiently endear it to all knowing men*, as its Author tells his Majesty. *Bonæ res neminem scandalizant nisi malam mentem*, says one of the Antients. Some men have such inveterate Diseases, that no Physick can do them good; and some Stomachs are so foul, that Antidotes are turned by them into poison. If any one was ever unsetled in

Epist.Ded.

Pro.

Proteſtantiſm by reading of *Eccleſia Reſtaurata*, it was only accidental; his perverſion being to be aſcribed either to the ignorance or weakneſs of his Judgment, or to the ſtubbornneſs of his Will, or ſome other evil principle of his Mind. It cannot proceed from any intrinſick evil quality in that or any other Book of Doctor *Heylyns*, which abound with unanſwerable Arguments to eſtabliſh the *Diſcipline* and *Doctrine* of the Church of *England* againſt its profeſſed Enemies of *Rome* and *Geneva*. But our *Doctors* own words will be a ſufficient defence of him unto all equal and unprejudic'd Judgments, "In the "whole carriage of this work, I have aſ-"ſumed unto my ſelf the freedom of a "juſt *Hiſtorian*; concealing nothing "out of Fear, nor ſpeaking any thing "out of Favour; delivering nothing for "a Truth without good Authority; "but ſo delivering that Truth, as to "witneſs for me, that I am neither biaſ-"ſed by Love or Hatred, nor over-"ſwayed by partiality and corrupt af-

fecti-

fections, "I know 'tis impoſſible in a "work of this nature to pleaſe all par-"ties, tho I have made it my endea-"vour to diſſatisfie none, but thoſe "that hate to be reformed; or other-"wiſe are ſo tenaciouſly wedded to "their own opinion, that neither Rea-"ſon nor Authority can divorce them "from it. In ſhort, his love to Truth, and veneration to the Church of *England* were the only motives that made him undertake to write that *Hiſtory*: The one was the *Miſtris*, which he ever ſerv'd; and the other was the *Mother*, whoſe Paps he had always ſuck'd, And whoever diſ-regards, or deviates from either of thoſe, may perhaps be offended with ſome particular paſſages in *Eccleſia Reſtaurata*.

As for his *never vouching Authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven him*; I hope he has met with a more merciful Judg in another world, than it ſeems Dr. *Burnet* is in this. But who is to pardon Dr. *B.* for accuſing Dr. *Heylyn* of *violent prejudices* againſt

persons, of writing things so *strangely*, as if he had been a *Factor* for the *Papists*, and yet not specifying one particular Instance, wherein he was thus partial and perfidious. He began the writing of that History in *September* 1638, communicating his design to Archbishop *Laud*, from whom he received all imaginable encouragement. And what benefit would any Reader receive to have quoted to him the pages of *Manuscripts*, Acts of *Parliament*, Registers of *Convocation*, old *Records* and *Charters*, orders of *Council-Table*, or other of those rare pieces in the *Cottonian* Library, which were made use of in that elaborate *History*. Had Dr. *Heylyn* borrowed his materials out of Vulgar or Printed Authors, he ought then to have vouch'd particular Authorities for what he writ, but making use of those which few Scholars either could or had perused, it had been the part of a *Pedant*, not of an *Historian*, to have been exact and particular in his Quotations. Not to men-

tion either *Greek* or *Latine Hiſtorians*. Does not Dr. *B.* eſteem the Lord *Bacon's Hiſtory* of *Henry* VII. to contain as complete and judicious an account of the Affairs of that Princes Reign, as any thing of that nature, that is extant in *Engliſh* Story? But the *Margent* of that Book is not ſtuſt with many more Quotations, than the *Doctors Eccleſia Reſtaurata*. And yet the Lord *Bacon writ of Tranſactions beyond his own time*, and lived as far diſtant from the Reign of King *Henry* VII. as Dr. *Heylyn* did from King *Henry* VIII. who laid the firſt Foundation of our *Reformation*. For my own part I cannot with the moſt diligent ſearch find out any paſſages in *Eccleſia Reſtaurata*, which evert the great Rule that ought to be obſerved by all *Hiſtorians*, viz. *Ne quid falſa audeant*, to commit nothing unto Writing which they know to be falſe, or cannot juſtifie to be true. *Hiſtory* is the Record of time, by which the Revolutions of Providence are tranſmitted from one Age unto another. And

if it can be proved that Dr. *Heylyn* has either ſuborned *Witneſſes*, falſified *Records*, or ſo wreſted *Evidence*, that poſterity cannot make a certain judgment of thoſe Tranſactions, of which he undertook to inform his Countrymen, then it muſt be confeſſed that he was led by Paſſion more than Judgment, and by *violent prejudices* more than the ſubſtantial evidences of Truth.

And yet if all this were made out, 'tis no more than what may be laid at the door of that Author, who not many years ſince writ the *Hiſtory of Duke* Hamilton; where are reported the moſt abominable Scandals, broach'd by the malicious *Covenanteers* againſt the *Hierarchy* of the *Scotiſh* Church. And the *Hiſtorian*, without the leaſt contradiction or confutation, permits them to paſs for infallible Truths; that ſo Poſterity as well as the preſent prejudiced Age might be leavened with an implacable enmity and hatred againſt

Hiſt. D. Ham. p. 29, 30.

the whole Order of Biſhops. And altho the *Hamiltons* were the old inveterate enemies of the *Stuarts*; and the *Duke*, of whom that large *Hiſtory* is compiled, was an enemy as treacherous to K. *Charles* I. as any that ever appeared againſt him in open Arms, drawing the *Scots* in the *Engliſh* Court to be his Dependents; alienating their Affections from the King his Maſter. Tho wiſe men of both Nations thought that the firſt Tumult at *Edinborough* was raiſed by his Inſtruments, and the Combuſtions that enſued were ſecretly fomented by him: Tho when he was *High Commiſſioner*, he drew the King from one Condeſcention to another in behalf of the *Covenanteers*, till he had little elſe left to give but his Crown and Life: Tho he drew him firſt to ſuſpend and then to ſuppreſs the *Liturgy* and *Canons* made for the uſe of the *Scotiſh* Church, and to abrogate the five *Articles* of *Perth*, procured with ſo much difficulty by K. *James*, and confirmed by *Parliament*: Tho he

authorized the Covenant with ſome few alterations in it, and generally impoſed it on that Kingdom: Tho he yielded to the calling of the Aſſembly, and was aſſured by that means, that the Biſhops by the Majority of their Enemies Voices ſhould be Cenſured and Excommunicated; that Epiſcopacy ſhould be aboliſhed, and all the Regular Clergy expoſed to Ruine: Tho he got to himſelf ſo ſtrong a Party in the Kingdom, that the King ſtood but for a Party in the Calculation: Tho when he had Command over a conſiderable part of the Royal Navy in the *Frith* at *Edinburough*, he made good that ſaying of the *Scots*, *That the Son of ſo good a Mother* (being a moſt rigid *Covenanter*) *could do them no hurt*, by loitering about on purpoſe till he heatd that the Treaty of *Pacification* was begun at *Barwick*, whither he came in *Poſthaſt*, pretending to diſturb that buſineſs, when he knew it would be concluded before he came thither: Tho he was guilty of the vileſt Treachery

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to the Beſt of Princes, and the Beſt of Subjects, *viz.* *Charles* I. and the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, who returning out of *France*, and deſigning to put himſelf into the Kings Service, made his way to *Hamilton*, who (knowing the gallantry of the man, and fearing a Competitor in his Majeſties Favour) told *Montroſs* on the one hand, That the King ſlighted the *Scottiſh* Nation, that he deſigned to reduce it unto a Province, and that he would no longer continue in the Court were it not for ſome ſervices that he was engaged to do for his Country: And on the other hand told the King, That *Montroſs* was ſo popular and powerful among the *Scots*, that he would embroil the Affairs, and endanger the Intereſt of his Majeſty in that Kingdom; which ſuggeſtions made the King take little notice of him, and the Martyred *Heroe* was confirmed in the belief of what *Hamilton* had ſecretly whiſpered to him; which cauſed him to go to *Scotland*, and there to liſt himſelf with the

Male-contents of that Kingdom, whose concerns he espoused till he saw his own Error, and *Hamilton*'s Treachery: Tho D. *Hamilton* was the man that prevailed with the King to pass that Act for continuation of the Parliament during the pleasure of the Two Houses, and boasted how he had got a perpetual Parliament for the *English*, and would do the like for the *Scots* too, and contrary to the wishes of all good men, prevailed with the King to Dissolve that Parliament which was immediately precedent, playing with both hands at once; pulling with one hand back the Commons from all Compliance with the King, and thrusting on the King with the other hand to Dissolve the Parliament: In fine (for the repetition of these things is not very delighting) Tho this D. *Hamilton* did in the opinion of very many wise men aim at nothing less than the Crown of *Scotland*, and had so courted the Common Soldiers, raised for the Service of the *Swedes*, and obliged their Com-

man-

manders, that *David Ramſey* openly began an health to King *James* the Seventh; yet all theſe with many more particulars are either quite ſmothered, or ſo painted over by Dr. *Burnet*, that the Volume he has writ upon *Hamilton* may rather be called an *Apology*, or a *Panegyrick* than a *Hiſtory*. But Dr. *Heylyn* had the courage to acquaint the world with theſe harſh Truths in the Life of the Archbiſhop, and in the *Obſervations* that he has writ upon Mr. *L'Eſtrange*'s *Hiſtory* of King *Charles* I. And there was no other way to be revenged on him, than to traduce his Labours, and blaſt his Memory, as if he had been *ſecretly ſet on to write by thoſe of the Church of* Rome. A Calumny ſo improbable, that 'tis confuted in the very Preface to *Eccleſia Reſtaurata*, where *Page 6.* he tells how the *Owners of the* Abby-Lands *had all the reaſon in the world to maintain that Right, which by the known Laws of the Land had been veſted in them.—And that the*

Ex-

Exchanges, Grants and Sales *of the* Monasteries and Religious Houses *were passed and confirmed by the Kings* Letters-Patents *under the* Great Seal of *England in due form of Law, which gave unto the* Patentees *as good a Title as the Law could make them; and that Pope* Julius *the Second in Queen* Maries *Reign confirmed all those Lands by his* Decree *to the present Occupants, of which they stood possessed* (justo titulo) *by a lawful Title.* But the *Doctors* Observation is verified in himself, *viz. That 'Tis the Faction a man joyns with, not the Life or Principles of the man himself that makes him a good or a bad man*; And I will add a learned or good Writer. He did not write Books, or Preach Sermons, as anciently *Poets* did *Comedies*, of whom *Terence* tells us,

Poeta cum primum animum ad scribendum appulit,
Id sibi negotii credidit solum dari,
Populo ut placerent, quas fecisset fabulas.

Thus

Thus Engliſhed by Dr. *Heylyn*.

Thus Poets when their mind they firſt apply,
In looſer Verſe to frame a Comedy.
Think there is nothing more for them to do
Than pleaſe the people whom they ſpeak unto.

But this Reverend man was of no crouching temper to popular Factions, or Opinions. And whoever they are that oppoſe thoſe, will be charged with Railing and Reviling, as well as with Falſities and Miſtakes, tho they uſe the moſt unaffected propriety of words to repreſent the conceptions of their minds, in giving an account of things in their proper and due circumſtances. Dr. *Heylyn* had too much in him of a *Gentleman* and a *Scholar* to uſe any unſeemly expreſſions in his Writings, to render either Perſons, Opinions, or Actions odious. If he found

found them so, he ought so to represent them, or else he would not have acquitted himself like an *Historian, i.e.* faithful to the just interests of Truth. Had he but employed his Pen to have written one half of those things against the King and Church of *England*, which he writ for them, he would have been accounted by very many persons (I will not say by Dr. *B.*) the greatest *Scholar*, the greatest *Protestant*, the most faithful *Historian*, or in their own phrase, *the most precious man* that ever yet breath'd in this Nation. But he had the good luck to be a Scholar, and better luck to employ his Learning like an honest man and a good Christian, in the defence of a Righteous and pious King; of an Apostolical and true Church; of a Venerable and Learned Clergy: And this drew upon him all the *odium* and malice that two opposite Factions, *Papist* and *Sectary* could heap upon him.

Had he writ only against the first, his name had received no more disturbance

bance from men upon earth, than his Soul does amongſt its bleſſed aſſociates in Heaven. But diving into unbeaten paths, in his Theological Studies, he gives an account of the firſt entrance of the *Calvinian* Tenets into this Kingdom, *viz.* *Exam. Hiſt.* 162.

"How the Controverſies "about Grace, Predeſtination, *&c.* had "had been long agitated in the Schools "between the *Dominicans* on the one "ſide and the *Franciſcans* on the other: "the *Dominicans* grounding their opini- "on on the Authority of *S. Auſtin, Pro-* "*ſper*, and ſome others of the follow- "ing Writers: The *Franciſcans* on the "general current of the ancient Fa- "thers, who lived *ante mota certami-* "*na Pelagiana*, before the riſing of the "*Pelagian* Hereſies. Which Diſputes "being after taken up in the *Lutheran* "Churches, the moderate *Lutherans* "(as they call them) followed the Do- "ctrine of *Melanchthon*, conformable to "the *Franciſcans* in thoſe particulars. "The others whom they call *Stiff* or *Rigid*

"*Rigid Lutherans*, of whom *Flaccius* "*Illyricus* was chief, go in the same "way with the *Dominicans*. The Au- "thority of which last opinion, after "it had been entertained and publish- "ed in the works of *Calvin*, for his "sake found admittance in the Schools "and Pulpits of most of the Reformed "Churches. And being controverted "*pro* and *con* by some of the *Confessors* "in Prison in Qu. *Maries* "days, after her death "many of our exiled Di- "vines returning from "*Geneva*, *Basil*, and such other "places, where *Calvins* Dictates were "received as celestial Oracles, brought "with them his opinions in the points "of *Predestination*, *Grace* and *Perseve-* "*rance*: which being dispersed and "scattered over all the Church by *Cal-* "*vins* authority and the diligence of "the *Presbyterian* party (then busie in "advancing their Holy Discipline) "they came to be received for the on- "ly true and orthodox Doctrine, and

Observat. on the History of the Reign of K. *Charles*, 72.

were

" were ſo publickly maintained in the " Schools of *Cambridge*, till Dr. *Peter* " *Baroe*, *Profeſſor* for the Lady *Marga-* " *ret* in that Univerſity, revived the " *Melanchthonian* way in his publick Le- " ctures, and by his great Learning and " Arguments had drawn many others " to the ſame perſuaſions.

From which words it appears what little ſhew of reaſon there is to call thoſe Divines *Arminians*, who are of a different judgment from Mr. *Calvin* in the points aforeſaid. For firſt, The *Arminians* are rather a Branch of the Sect of *Calvin*; to whoſe Diſcipline in all particulars they conform themſelves, and to his Doctrines in moſt, differing from him only in *Predeſtination* and the Points ſubordinate; but managing thoſe differences with a far better temper than their *Oppoſites*, as may be ſeen at large in Mr. *Hales*'s Letters. And ſecondly,

" *Arminius* (as our *Doctor* tells us) " was too much " a *puiſne*, of too late ſtanding in the world *Cert. Epiſt.* 22.

"world, to be accounted the firſt
"*Broacher* of thoſe *Doctrinal* Points,
"which have ſuch warrant from the
"Scriptures, and were ſo generally
"held by the ancient Fathers both
"*Greek* and *Latine*, till St. *Auſtins* time;
"defended ſince that time by the *Je-*
"*ſuites* and *Franciſcans* in the Church
"of *Rome*, by all the *Melanchthonian*
"Divines among the *Lutherans*; by
"*Caſtalio* in *Geneva* it ſelf; by Biſhop
"*Latimer* and Biſhop *Hooper* in the
"time of K. *Edward* VI; by ſome of
"our *Confeſſors* in Priſon in the days
"of Qu. *Mary*: by Biſhop *Harſnet* in
"the Pulpit; by Dr. *Peter Baroe* in the
"Schools in the Reign of Qu. *Elizabeth*;
"by *Hardem Bergius* the firſt Reformer
"of the Church and City of *Emden*;
"and finally by *Anaſtaſius Velvanus*,
"*A. D.* 1554. and afterward by *Henri-*
"*cus Antonii*, *Johannes Ibrandi*, *Cle-*
"*mens Martini*, *Cornelius Meinardi*, the
"Miniſters generally of the Province
"of *Utrecht*; by *Manaus* the Divinity-
"*Profeſſor* of *Leyden*; by *Gellius Suc-*

canus

"canus in the Province of *Friezeland*, "before the name of *Jacob van Har-* "*mine* was heard of in the world.

And if it be objected that the whole ſtream of *Proteſtant* Divines, who were famous either for Piety or Learning embraced the *Calvinian* Doctrines; to this alſo the *Doctor* gives a ſatisfactory anſwer in many places of his learned Writings. The Reader may pleaſe to conſider, *Cert. Epiſt.* 173.

1. That this being granted to be a truth, we are rather to look upon it as an infelicity which befel the Church, than as an argument that ſhe concurr'd with thoſe Divines in all points of judgment. That which was moſt aimed at immediately after the *Reformation*, and for a long time after, in preferring men to the higheſt dignities of the Church, and chief places in the Univerſities, was their zeal againſt *Popery*, and ſuch a ſufficiency of learning as might enable him to defend thoſe Points, on which our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome* was to be maintained.

tained, and the Queens Intereſt moſt preſerved. The Popes *Supremacy*, the *Maſs*, with all the Points and Nicities which depended on it, *Juſtification* by Faith, *Marriage* of *Prieſts*, *Purgatory*, the *Power* of the *Civil* Magiſtrate, were the Points moſt agitated: And whoever appeared right in thoſe, and withal declared himſelf againſt the corruptions of that Church in point of Manners, was ſeldom or never looked into for his other Opinions, until the Church began to find the ſad conſequences of it in ſuch a general tendency to Innovation both in *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*, as could not eaſily be redreſs'd. 2. In anſwer to the fore-mentioned objection, It is recorded in St. *Marks* Goſpel, *cap.* 8. that the blind man whom our Saviour reſtored to ſight at *Bethſaida*, at the firſt opening of his eyes *ſaw men as Trees walking*, ver. 24. *i. e.* walking as Trees; *quaſi dicat homines quos ambulantes video, non homines ſed arbores mihi viderentur,*

Ib. 153.

tur, as we read in *Maldonate*. By which words, the blind man declared (ſaith he) *ſe quidem videre aliquid, cum nihil antè videret, imperfectè tamen videre, cum inter homines & arbores diſtinguere non poſſet*. More briefly *Eſtius* upon the place, *Nondum ita clarè & perfectè video, ut diſcernere poſſim inter homines & arbores*. I diſcern ſomewhat, ſaid the poor man, but ſo imperfectly, that I am not able to diſtinguiſh between Trees and Men. Such an imperfect ſight as this the Lord gave many times to thoſe whom he recovered out of the *Egyptian* darkneſs, who not being able to diſcern all Divine Truths at the firſt opening of the eyes of their underſtandings, were not to be a Rule and Precedent to thoſe that followed and lived in clearer times. and under a brighter Beam of Illumination than others did.

What grounds were laid down by this excellent perſon for Unity and Charity in the Worſhip of God, and in the Doctrine and Government of

the Church, may be ſeen in theſe words to Mr. *Baxter*; *Cert. Epiſt.* 57. "Unity and Charity in "the ancient ſimplicity of Doctrine, "Worſhip, and Government, no man "likes better than my ſelf; bring but "the ſame affections with you, and the "wide Breach that is between us (in "ſome of the Cauſes which we manage "on either ſide) will be ſuddenly clo- "ſed: but then you muſt be ſure to "ſtand to the word *Ancient* alſo, and "not keep your ſelf to *ſimplicity* on- "ly. If *Unity* and *Charity* will con- "tent you in the ancient Doctrine, in "the *ſimplicity* thereof without ſub- "ſequent mixtures of the Church, I "know no Doctrine in the Church "more pure and *Ancient*, than that "which is publickly held forth by the "Church of *England* in the Book of "*Articles*, the *Homilies*, and the *Ca-* "*techiſm* authorized by Law, of which "I may ſafely affirm as St. *Auſtin* does "in his Book *Ad Marcelinum*, *His qui* "*contradicit, aut a Chriſti fide alienus*

eſt,

"*eſt, aut eſt Hæreticus*, *i. e.* He muſt "either be an Infidel or an Heretick "who aſſents not to them, If *Unity* "and *Charity* in the *ſimplicity* of Wor- "ſhip be the thing you aim at, you "muſt not give every man the liberty "of worſhiping in what Form he plea- "ſeth, which deſtroys all *Unity*; "nor Curſing many times inſtead of "Praying, which deſtroys all *Charity*. "The ancient and moſt ſimple way of "Worſhip in the Church of God was "by regular Forms preſcribed for the "publick uſe of Gods people in the "Congregations, and not by unpreme- "ditated undigeſted Prayers, which "every man makes unto himſelf, as his "fancy ſhall lead him. And if ſet *Forms* "of Worſhip are to be retained, you "will not eaſily meet with any, which "hath more in it of the ancient *ſim-* "*plicity* of the Primitive Times, than "the *Engliſh* Liturgy. And if ancient "*ſimplicity* of Government be the point "you drive at, what Government can "you find more pure or *Ancient* than

" that of *Biſhops*; of which you have
" this Character in the *Petition* of the
" County of *Rutland*, where it is ſaid
" to be, That Government which the
" Apoſtles left the Church in; that the
" three Ages of Martyrs were gover-
" ned by; that the thirteen Ages ſince
" have always gloried in; (by their Suc-
" ceſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles,
" proving themſelves Members of the
" *Catholick* and *Apoſtolick* Church) that
" our Laws have eſtabliſhed; that ſo
" many Kings and Parliaments have
" protected; into which we were Ba-
" ptized; as certainly *Apoſtolical* as the
" Lords day; as the diſtinction of
" Books were written by ſuch *Evange-*
" *liſts* and *Apoſtles*, as the Conſecrati-
" on of the *Euchariſt* by *Presbyters*,
" &c. An ample commendation of E-
" piſcopal Government, but ſuch as ex-
" ceeds not the bounds of Truth or
" Modeſty. Stand to theſe grounds for
" keeping *Unity* and *Charity* in the an-
" cient *ſimplicity* of *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*
" and *Government* in the Church of
God,

"God, and you ſhall ſee how chear-
"fully the Regal and Prelatical Par-
"ty will joyn hands with you, and
"embrace you with moſt dear affecti-
"ons. But you tell me, That *if I will have men in peace as Brethren, our* Union *muſt be Law, or Ceremonies, or indifferent Forms.* "This is a pretty
"Speculation, but ſuch as would not
"paſs for practicable in any well-go-
"verned Commonwealth, unleſs it be
"in the old *Utopia*, the new *Atlantis*,
"or the laſt diſcovered *Oceana*. For how
"can men poſſibly live in peace as Bre-
"thren, where there is no Law to li-
"mit their deſires, or direct their acti-
"ons? Take away Law, and every
"man will be a Law unto himſelf, and
"*do whatſoever ſeems beſt in his own*
"*eyes* without controul: then Luſt
"will be a Law for one; Fellony for
"another; Perjury ſhall be held no
"Crime; nor ſhall any Treaſon or Re-
"bellion receive their puniſhments; for
"*where there is no Law, there can be no*
"*Tranſgreſſion*: and where there is no

" Tranſgreſſion, there can be no pu-
" niſhment; puniſhments being only
" due for the breach of Laws. Thus is
" it alſo in the Worſhip of God; which
" by the Hedg of *Ceremonies* is preſer-
" ved from lying open to all prophane-
" neſs; and by *Set-Forms* (be they as
" indifferent as they will) is kept from
" breaking out into open confuſion. St.
" *Paul* tells us, that *God is the God of*
" *Order, not of Confuſion in the Churches.*
" If therefore we deſire to avoid Confu-
" ſion, let us keep ſome Order; and if
" we would keep Order, we muſt have
" ſome Forms; it being impoſſible that
" men ſhould live in peace as Brethren
" in the houſe of God, where we do
" not find both. *David* has told us
" in the *Pſalms*, that *Jeruſalem* is like
" a *City* which is at *Unity* with it ſelf.
" And in *Jeruſalem* there were not on-
" ly ſolemn Sacrifices, *Set-Forms* of
" Bleſſing, and ſome ſignificant *Ceremo-*
" *nies* preſcribed by God; but *Muſi-*
" *cal* Inſtruments and *Singers*, and *Lin-*
" *nen Veſtures* for thoſe *Singers*, and

cer-

"certain *Hymns* and ſeveral *Times* and "*Places* for them ordained by *David*. "Had every Ward in that City, and "every Street in that Ward, and every "Family in that Street, and perhaps "every Perſon in that Family uſed his "own way in Worſhiping the Lord his "God, *Jeruſalem* could not long have "kept the name of a *City*, much leſs "the honor of being that *City which* "*was at Unity in it ſelf*—When there-"fore the Apoſtle gives us this good "counſel, that we endeavour to *keep* "*the unity of the Spirit in the bond of* "*peace*, he ſeems to intimate that there "can be no *Unity*, where there is no "*Peace*; and that *Peace* cannot be pre-"ſerved without ſome *Bond*. If you "deſtroy all *Ceremonies* and ſubvert all "*Forms*, you muſt break the *Bond*; "and if the *Bond* be broken, you muſt "break the *Peace*; and if you break "the *Peace*, what becomes of the *Uni-*"*ty*? So that it is but the dream of a "dry Summer (as the ſaying is) to "think that without *Law*, or *Forms*,

or

"or *Ceremonies*, men may live peace-
"ably together as becomes Brethren,
"though they profeſs one Faith, ac-
"knowledg one Lord, receive one Ba-
"ptiſm, and be Sons of one Father
"which is in Heaven.

Having thus ſurveyed ſome particulars pertaining to the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Church, proceed we next to take a ſhort view of ſome things delivered by this right learned man concerning the *Convocation*; which in ancient times was "part of the Parlia-
Exam. Hiſt. 126. "ment, there being a "Clauſe in every Letter of Summons "by which the Biſhops were required "to attend in Parliament, that they "ſhould warn the Clergy of their re-"ſpective Dioceſes, ſome in their Per-"ſons, and others by their *Procura-"tors* to attend there alſo. But this "has been ſo long unpractis'd, that we "find no foot-ſteps of it ſince the Par-"liaments in the time of King *Ri-"chard* the Second. It is true indeed that

"that in the 8th. year of *Henry* VI. "there paſſed a Statute, by which it "was enacted, *That all the Clergy which ſhould be called thenceforth to the Convocation by the Kings Writ, together with their Servants and Families, ſhould for ever after fully uſe and enjoy ſuch liberty and immunity in coming, tarrying and returning, as the Great men and Commonalty of the Realm of* England *called or to be called to the Kings Parliament have uſed, or ought to have or enjoy.* "Which though it makes "the *Convocation* equal to the Parlia- "ment as to the freedom of their Per- "ſons; yet cannot it from hence be "reckoned or reputed for a part there- "of.

And as it is now no part of the Parliament, ſo neither has it any neceſſary dependence upon that Honourable Council and Aſſembly, either in the Calling or Diſſolving of it, or in the Confirmation or Authorizing of the Acts thereof, but only in

Obſervat. on the Hiſtory of the Reign of K. *Charles*, 220.

in the King himſelf; and not upon the Kings ſitting in the Court of Parliament, but in his Palace or Court-Royal where ever it be. And this appears both by the Statute made in the 26th. of *Henry* VIII. and the conſtant practice ever ſince. Indeed ſince the 25th. year of *Henry* VIII. no *Convocation* is to aſſemble, but as it is Convocated and Convened by the Kings Writ? for in the Year 1532. the Clergy made their Acknowledgment and Submiſſion in their *Convocation* to that mighty and great Monarch; which *Submiſſion* paſſed into a *Statute* the very next year following. But this does not hinder, but that their Acts and Conſtitutions ratified by Royal Aſſent, are of force to bind the Subject to ſubmit and conform to them. For before the *Statute* of *Præmunire*, and the *Act* for *Submiſſion*, *Convocations* made *Canons* that were binding, altho none other than *Synodical* Authority did confirm the ſame. And certainly they muſt have

Exam. Hiſt. 97.

have the ſame power; when the Kings Authority ſignified in his Royal Aſſent is added to them. They alſo gave away the money of the Clergy, by whom they were choſen, even as the Commons in Parliament gave the money of the Cities, Towns and Countries, for which they ſerved. For in chuſing the Clerks for *Convocation*, there is an Inſtrument drawn up and ſealed by the Clergy, in which they bind themſelves to the Arch-Deacons of their ſeveral Dioceſes upon the pain of forfeiting all their Lands and Goods, *Se ratum, gratum & acceptum habere, quicquid Dicti Procuratores ſui dixerint, fecerint vel conſtituerint*, *i. e.* to allow, ſtand and perform whatſoever their ſaid Clerks ſhall ſay, do, or condeſcend unto on their behalf. Nor is this a ſpeculative Authority only and not reducible unto practice, but precedented in Queen *Elizabeths* time. For in the year 1585. the *Convocation* having given one *Subſidy* confirmed by Parliament, *Obſ.* 196.

ment, and finding that they had not done ſufficiently for the Queens occaſions, did after add a *Benevolence* or *Aid* of two ſhillings in the pound to be levied upon all the Clergy; and to be levied by ſuch *Synodical* Acts and Conſtitutions, as they digeſted for that purpoſe, without having any recourſe to the Parliament for it.

But againſt theſe things it was objected in the Long Parliament of King *Charles* I, That the Clergy had no power to make *Canons* without common conſent in Parliament, becauſe *in the* Saxon *times, Laws and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical had the Confirmation of Peers, and ſometimes of the people, unto which great Councils our Parliaments do ſucceed.*

Exam. Hiſt. 237. "Which argument (ſays our Reverend *Doctor*) if "it be of force to prove, that the Cler"gy can make no *Canons* without con"ſent of the Peers and People in Par"liament, it muſt prove alſo that the "Peers and People can make no *Sta-*

tutes

"*tutes* without consent of the Clergy "in their *Convocation*. My reason is, "because such Councils in time of the "*Saxons* were mixt Assemblies, con- "sisting as well of *Laicks* as *Eccleſia- "sticks*? and the matters there conclu- "ded on of a mixt nature also; *Laws* "being passed as commonly in them in "order to the good Governance of the "Commonwealth, as *Canons* for the "regulating such things as concerned "Religion. And these great Councils "of the *Saxons* being divided into "two parts in the times ensuing, their "Clergy did their work by themselves "without any Confirmation of the "King or Parliament, till the *Submis- "sion* of the Clergy to King *Henry* "VIII. And if Parliaments did succeed "in the place of those great Councils, "it was because that anciently the Pro- "curators of the Clergy, not the Bi- "shops only had their place in Parlia- "ment, tho neither *Peers* nor *People* "voted in the *Convocations*. Which be- "ing so, it is not much to be admired

that

"that the *Commons* repined about the "diſuſe of the general making of "Church-Laws, as they did in the be- "ginning of the Long Parliament, when "they voted *the proceedings of the Clergy to be prejudicial and deſtructive to the Fundamental Liberties and Priviledges of the Subject.* "For beſides "that this repining at the proceedings "of any Superiour Court does not "make its *Acts* illegal, there is a new "memorable paſſage in the Parliament "of the 51. of *Edw.* III. which will "clear this matter, which in brief is "this: The *Commons* finding them- "ſelves agrieved as well with certain "*Conſtitutions* made by the Clergy in "their *Synods*, as with ſome *Laws* or "*Ordinances* which were lately paſſed, "more to the advantage of the Clergy "than the common People, put in a "Bill to this effect, *viz. That no Act or Ordinance ſhould from thenceforth be made or granted on the Petition of the ſaid Clergy without conſent of the Commons: and that the ſaid Commons ſhould*

not

not be bound in times to come by any Conſtitutions made by the Clergy of this Realm for their own advantage, to which the Commons of this Realm had not given conſent. "The reaſon of which is "this, and 'tis worth the marking *Car eux ne veulent eſtre obligez anul de vos Eſtatuz ne ordinances faits ſanz leur Aſſent*, i. e. *becauſe the Clergy did not think themſelves bound* (as indeed they were not in thoſe times) *by any Statute, Act, or Ordinance made without their Aſſent in the Court of Parliament.* "And beſides theſe precedents already "mentioned, there is another memo- "rable *Convocation* in the 4th. and 5th. "years of *Philip* and *Ma-* "*ry*; in which the Cler- "gy taking notice of an "Act of Parliament then newly paſ- "ſed, by which the Subjects of the "*Temporalty*, having Lands in the "yearly value of five pounds and up- "wards, were charged with finding "Horſe and Armor according to the "propertion of their yearly Revenues

Introduct. unto *Exam. Hiſt.*

" and Poſſeſſions, did by their ſole
" Authority in the *Convocation*, impoſe
" upon themſelves and the reſt of the
" Clergy of this Land, the finding of
" a like number of Horſes, Armor
" and other neceſſaries for the War,
" according to their yearly Income,
" proportion for proportion, and rate
" for rate, as by that *Statute* hath been
" laid on the Temporal Subjects. And
" this they did by their own ſole Au-
" thority, as was before ſaid; order-
" ing the ſame to be levied on all ſuch
" as were refractory, by *Sequeſtration*,
" *Deprivation*, *Suſpenſion*, *Excommuni-*
" *cation*, without relating to any ſub-
" ſequent Confirmation by Act of Par-
" liament, which they conceived they
" had no need of.

Nor did the zeal of our learned *Doctor* here terminate; it was like *Aarons* Ointment, that deſcended from his Beard to the loweſt Skirts and Fringes of his Garments. For firſt, as for the Biſhops, he did not only write for them when their Order flouriſhed, but he

he defended their Function and Honor when their power was expired. For that Episcopacy might never revive in this Kingdom, its enemies used all possible endeavours to render it odious to all sober and considering Christians. And to do that, 1. The Bishops were made the cause of the Civil War; to which calumny our *Doctor* answers; "Its true, the *Covenan-*
"*teers* called it the *Bishops* *Observ.*
"*War*, and gave out, that on---151.
"it was raised only to
"maintain the *Hierarchy*; The truth "is, *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy* were made "the *occasions*, but they were not the "*causes* of the War; Religion being "but the Vizard to disguise the busi-"ness, which Covetousness, Sacriledg "and Rapine had the greatest hand in. "But the thing was thus. The King "being engaged in a War with *Spain*, "and yet deserted by those men who "engaged him in it, was fain to have "recourse to such other ways of Assi-"stance as were offered to him. But

what thoſe ways were will be too tedious to acquaint the Reader with in this place: he may better inform himſelf in the *Obſervations* on Maſter *L'Eſtrange* his *Hiſtory*. 2. Another Engine raiſed to demoliſh *Epiſcopacy*, was to perſuade the People that Biſhops were an imperious proud ſort of men, or as Mr. *Baxter* (who was reſolved as well to make up the meaſure of his own Incivilities as of the Biſhops Afflictions) a *Turgid perſecuting ſort of Prelacy*; as alſo that in reſpect of their Studies, they were no way fit for Government, or to be *Barons* in Parliament. Unto which the *Doctor* anſwers with an old ſtory of a Nobleman in K. *Henry* VIII's time, who told Mr. *Pace* one of the Kings *Secretaries*, in contempt of Learning, *That it was enough for* Noblemens *Sons to Wind their* Horn, *and carry their* Hawk *fair, and leave Learning to the ſtudy of mean men.* "To whom "Mr. *Pace* replied, *Then you and other* Noble-

Exam. Hiſt. 246.

"Noblemen *muſt be content that your* "*Children may wind their* Horns *and* "*keep their* Hawks, *whilſt the Children* "*of mean men do manage matters of* "*State.* And certainly there can be no "reaſon, why men that have been ver- "ſed in Books, ſtudied in Hiſtories, and "thereby made acquainted with the "chiefeſt Occurrences of moſt States "and Kingdoms, ſhould not be thought "as fit to manage the Affairs of State, "as thoſe who ſpend their time in "Hawking or Hunting, if not in worſe "Employments. For that a *Superin-* "*duction* of Holy Orders ſhould prove "a *Superſedeas* to all civil prudence, is "ſuch a wild extravagant fancy, as "no man of Judgment can allow of. And as for the Clergies Pride and Covetouſneſs, he thus tells their Accuſer: "How ſad their Conditi- "on is, and under what *Cert. Epiſt.* 44. "impoſſibilities of giving "content unto the people. For if they "keep cloſe, and privately, and live "any thing below their Fortunes, the

" People then cry out, *O the baſe ſor-*
" *didneſs of the Clergy!* But if accord-
" ing to their means, or in any out-
" ward luſtre; then on the other ſide,
" *Oh the pride of the Clergy!* But tell
" me (Mr. *Baxter*) if you can, in what
" the *Turgidneſs* or high ſwelling pride
" of the Prelates did appear moſt vi-
" ſibly. Was it in the bravery of their
" Apparel, or in the train of their At-
" tendance, or in their Lordly Port, or
" lofty looks, or in all, or in none?
" Admitting the moſt and worſt you
" can of theſe particulars, would you
" have men that ſhine in a *higher Orb*,
" move in a *lower Sphere*, than that
" in which God has placed them? Or
" being rank'd in Order and Degree
" about you, would you not have
" them keep that diſtance which be-
" longs to their Places: Or becauſe
" you affect a *Parity* in the Church,
" would you have all men brought to
" the ſame *Level* with your ſelf, with-
" out admitting *Sub* and *Supra* in the
" Scale of Government? If they were
your

"your *Fathers in God*, why did not
"you look upon them with ſuch re-
"verence as becomes Children? If
"your *Superiors in the Lord*, why did
"not you yield them that ſubjection
"which was due unto them? If fix'd
"in Place and Power above you by
"the Laws of the Land only, and no
"more than ſo, why did not you give
"obedience to thoſe Laws under which
"you lived, and by which you were
"to be directed? Take heed I beſeech
"you Mr. *Baxter*, that more Spiritual
"Pride be not found in that heart of
"yours, than ever you found worldly
"and external Pride in any of my
"Lords the Biſhops; and that you do
"not trample on them with greater
"inſolence (*Calco platonis Faſtum, ſed*
"*majori Faſtu*, as you know who ſaid)
"in theſe unfortunate days of their
"Calamity, than ever they expreſſed
"toward any in the time of their Glo-
"ry. Were it my caſe, as it is yours,
"I would not for ten thouſand worlds
"depart this life, before I had obtained

"their pardon, and given ſatisfaction "to the world for theſe horrible Scan-"dals. 3. As for thoſe perſons that were heartily affected with *Epiſcopacy*, and diſſatisfied with the extinction of an Order ſo ſacred and venerable, there was this way found out to quiet their diſcontents, *viz.* to perſuade them that *Biſhops* and *Presbyters* were of equivolent importance, and comprehended under the ſame name in the Holy Scriptures. "But grant (ſays *Obſer.* 183. "this their Champion) "that they be ſo: who, "that pretends to *Logick*, can diſpute "ſo ſamely, as from a *Community* of "names to infer an *Identity* or *Same-"neſs* in the thing ſo named? *Kings* are "called *Gods* in Holy Scripture; and "God does frequently call himſelf by "the name of *King*: yet if a man "ſhould thence infer, that from this "*Community* of names, there ariſes an "*Identity* or *Sameneſs* between God "and the King, he might worthily be "condemned for ſo great a Blaſphe-"mer.

"mer. St. *Peter* calls our Saviour Christ
"by the name of *Bishop*,
"and himself a *Presbyter* 1 Pet 2. 25.
"or *Priest*, or an *Elder*, as 1 Pet. 5. 1.
"we unhandsomly read
"it: yet were it a sorry piece of *Lo-*
"*gick* to conclude from hence, that
"there is no distinction between an
"*Apostle* and an *Elder*, the Prince of
"the Apostles, and a simple *Presbyter*;
"or between Christ the Supreme *Pa-*
"*stor* of his Church and every ordinary
"*Bishop*. Lastly, take it for granted
"that *Bishops* have an *Identity* or *Same-*
"*ness* in *Name*, *Office*, *Ordination* and
"*Qualification* with *Presbyters*, it will
"not follow convertibly that *Presby-*
"*ters* have the like *Identity* or *Same-*
"*ness* of *Qualification*, *Ordination*, *Name*
"and *Office*, which the *Bishop* hath.
"My reason is, because a *Bishop* being
"first Regularly and Canonically to be
"made a Priest before he take the Or-
"der and Degree of a *Bishop*, hath in
"him all the *Qualifications*, the *Ordina-*
"*tion*, *Name* and *Office* which a *Presbyter*
has;

" has; and ſomething further ſuper-
" added, as well in point of *Order* and
" *Juriſdiction*, which every *Presbyter*
" hath not: So that altho every *Biſhop*
" be a *Prieſt*, or *Presbyter*, yet every
" *Presbyter* is not a *Biſhop*. To make
" this clear by an example in the *Civil*
" Government. When Sir *Robert Cecil*,
" Knight, and principal *Secretary* of
" State was made firſt Earl of *Salisbu-*
" *ry*, and then Lord *Treaſurer*, continu-
" ing *Knight* and *Secretary* as he was
" before; it might be ſaid that he had
" an *Identity* or *Sameneſs* in *Name*, *Of-*
" *fice*, *Order* and *Qualification* with Sir
" *John Herbert* the other Secretary;
" yet this could not be ſaid reciprocally
" of Sir *John Herbert*, becauſe there
" was ſomething ſuperadded to Sir *Ro-*
" *bert Cecil*, *viz.* the Dignity of an *Earl*
" and the Office of Lord *Treaſurer*,
" which the other had not. So true is
" that of *Lactantius*, *Adeo argumenta*
" *ex abſurdo petita ineptos habent exi-*
" *tus*. It is ordinary for Arguments
" built upon weak grounds to have
worſe

"worſe Concluſions. And a better In-
ſtance cannot be given of this, than in
the Retortion that Mr.
Selden made to one in the *Ib.* 188.
Houſe of *Commons*, who
diſputed againſt the Divine Right of
Epiſcopacy, His argument was this.
"1. That *Biſhops* are *Jure Divino* is
"of Queſtion. 2. That *Archbiſhops*
"are not *Jure Divino* is out of Que-
"ſtion. 3. That *Miniſters* are *Jure*
"*Divino*, there is no Queſtion. Now
"if *Biſhops* which are queſtioned whe-
"ther *Jure Divino* ſhall Suſpend Mi-
"niſters which are *Jure Divino*, I leave
"it to you Mr. *Speaker*. Which Mr.
"*Selden* (whether with greater Wit or
"Scorn is hard to ſay) thus retorted on
"him. 1. That the *Convocation* is
"*Jure Divino*, is a Queſtion. 2. That
"*Parliaments* are not *Jure Divino*, is
"out of Queſtion. 3. That *Religion*
"is *Jure Divino*, is no Queſtion. Now,
"Mr. *Speaker*, that the *Convocation*
"which is queſtioned whether *Jure*
"*Divino*, and *Parliaments* which out

"of

"of Queſtion are not *Jure Divino*,
"ſhould meddle with *Religion*, which
"queſtionleſs is *Jure Divino*, I leave to
"you Mr. *Speaker*.

There are ſome other Points relating to *Epiſcopacy*, which Dr. *Heylyn* has long time ſince cleared and determined. And if ſome of our pretending *Stateſ-men* had conſidered and read what was written upon thoſe Subjects, their time and pains would have been more profitably ſpent to the honor and ſecurity of this Church and Kingdom, than in raiſing doubts and ſcruples, which had long before been ſo clearly ſtated and reſolved. For, 1. As for *Biſhops* ſitting in Parliament to Vote in Cauſes of *Blood* and *Death*, this the *Doctor* evinced not only in the Tract, entituled, *De Jure paritatis Epiſcoporum*, but in his *Obſervations* upon Mr. *L'Eſtrange's Hiſtory*, where he ſays, "that altho the ancient *Canons* diſable *Biſhops* from Sentencing any man to Death, yet they do not from being *Aſſiſtants*

P. 224.

ſiſtants in ſuch caſes; from taking Examinations, hearing Depoſitions of Witneſſes, or giving Counſel in ſuch matters as they ſaw occaſion. The *Biſhops* ſitting as *Peers* in the *Engliſh* Parliament; were never excluded from the Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial, from any ſuch *Aſſiſtances*, as by their Gravity and Learning and other Abilities, they were enabled to give in any dark and difficult buſineſs (tho of *Blood* and *Death*) which were brought before them. 2. With the like ſolid reaſoning, the *Doctor* has evinced the *Biſhops* to be one of the *Three Eſtates*. For, not to mention what he ſays upon this Argument in his *Stumbling-Block of Diſobedience*: That they have their Vote in Parliament as a *Third Eſtate*, not in capacity of *Temporal Barons* (altho they are ſo, as Mr. *Selden* evinces, and an Act of Parliament, *Stat.* 25. *Edw.* III.) will evidently appear from theſe following Reaſons, "For, firſt the Clergy in all other

Titles of Hon. p. 2. cap. 5.

" other Christian Kingdoms of these
" *North-West* Parts make the *Third*
" *Estate*; that is to say, in the *German*
" Empire, as appears by *Thuanus* the
" *Historian, lib.* 2. In *France*, as is af-
" firmed by *Paulus Æmilius*, *lib.* 9.
" In *Spain*, as testifieth *Bodinus de Re-*
" *publ. lib.* 3. For which also consult
" the general *History* of *Spain*, as in
" point of practice, *lib.* 9, 10, 11, 14.
" In *Hungary*, as witnesseth *Bonfinius*,
" *Decl.* 2. *lib.* 1. In *Poland*, as is verified
" by *Thuanus* also, *l.* 56. In *Denmark*,
" as *Pontanus* tells us *in Historia rerum*
" *Danicarum, l.*7. The *Swedes* observing
" anciently the same Form and Order
" of Government as was used by the
" *Danes*. The like we find in *Cambden*
" for the Realm of *Scotland*, in which
" anciently the *Lords Spiritual*, viz.
" *Bishops*, *Abbots*, and *Priors* made the
" *Third Estate*. And certainly it was
" very strange, if the *Bishops* and other
" Prelates in the Realm of *England*,
" being a great and powerful Body,
" should move in a lower Sphere in
England,

" *England*, than they do elſewhere.
" But 2dly. Not to ſtand only upon
" probable inferences, we find firſt in
" Hiſtory, touching the Reign and
" Acts of *Henry* V. *That when his Fu-*
" *nerals were ended, the* Three Eſtates
" *of the Realm of* England *did aſſemble*
" *together, and declared his Son King*
" Henry VI. *being an Infant of eight*
" *Months old to be their Sovereign*
" *Lord, as his Heir and Succeſſor.* And
" if the *Lords Spiritual* did not then
" make the *Third Eſtate*, I would fain
" know who did? Secondly, The *Pe-*
" *tition* tendred to *Richard* Duke of
" *Gloceſter*, to accept the Crown, oc-
" curring in the Parliament Rolls, runs
" in the name of the *Three Eſtates* of
" the Realm, that is to ſay, the *Lords*
" *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and the *Com-*
" *mons* thereof. Thirdly, *In the ſaid*
" *Parliament of the ſaid* Rich. *Crowned*
" *King, it is ſaid expreſly, That at the*
" *requeſt and by the conſent of the* Three
" Eſtates *of this Realm, that is to ſay,*
" *the* Lords Spiritual *and* Temporal,

and

" *and* Commons *of this Land Aſſembled*
" *in this preſent Parliament, and by Au-*
" *thority of the ſame, it be Pronounced,*
" *Decreed and Declared, That our Sove-*
" *reign Lord the King was and is the ve-*
" *ry and undoubted King of this Realm*
" *of* England, *&c.* Fourthly, *It is acknow-*
" *ledged in the* Statute of 1 *Eliz.* c. 3.
" *where the* Lords Spiritual *and* Tempo-
" ral, *and the* Commons *in that Par-*
" *liament Aſſembled, being ſaid ex-*
" *preſly and* in terminis, *to repreſent*
" *the* Three Eſtates *of this Realm of*
" England, *did recognize the Queens Ma-*
" *jeſty to be their true, lawful, and un-*
" *doubted Sovereign Liege Lady and*
" *Queen.* Add unto theſe the Teſti-
" mony of Sir *Edward Cooke*, tho a pri-
" vate perſon, who in his Book of the
" *Juriſdiction of Courts* (publiſhed by
" Order of the *Long Parliament*) *c.* 1.
" doth expreſly ſay, *That the Parlia-*
" *ment conſiſts of the Head and the Body,*
" *that the Head is the King, that the*
" *Body is the* Three Eſtates, *viz.* the
" *Lords Spiritual, Temporal*, and the

Com-

"*Commons*. In which words we have "not only the Opinion and Teſtimo- "ny of that learned Lawyer, but the "Authority of the *Long Parliament* "alſo, tho againſt it ſelf.

I hope the peruſal of theſe things will be no leſs acceptable to the ſober Reader, than the tranſcribing of them has been unto my ſelf; which I have done to the end as well of informing my Country-men about the Rights of the Crown and Privileges of the Church and Clergy, as to ſhew that Dr. *Heylyn* had a zeal according unto knowledg, and was not leſs zealous for knowledge-ſake.

And the *Doctor* having thus ſtood up in the defence of *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy*, both in their proſperous and adverſe condition; when the black Cloud was diſpelled, and a fair Sunſhine began to dawn upon theſe harraſſed and oppreſſed *Iſlands*, by the Return of his Sacred Majeſty, this excellent man having in his mind *Tullies* Reſolution, *Defendi Rempub. Adoleſcens*,

ſcens, non deſeram Senex, thought it unbecoming him to deſert the Church in any of its preſſing needs: and therefore when the *door of Hope* began to *open*, he buſied his active and ſearching mind in finding out ſeveral expedients for the reſtoring and ſecuring of its Power and Privileges in future Ages againſt the attempts of Factious and Sacrilegious men. And the firſt thing that he engaged in, was to draw up ſeveral Papers, and tender them to thoſe Perſons in Authority, who in the days of Anarchy and Oppreſſion, had given the moſt ſignal Teſtimonies of their Affection to the Church. In which Papers he firſt ſhewed what Alterations, Explanations, &c. were made in the Publick *Liturgy* in the Reigns of King *Edward* VI. Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*; that ſo thoſe who were intruſted with ſo ſacred a *Depoſitum*, might be the better enabled to proceed in the Alteration and enlargement of it; as they afterward did, and as it now ſtands by Law Eſtabliſhed

in

in this Church. Secondly, Whereas in the first year of King *Edward* VI. it was enacted that all *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, &c. should make their *Processes*, *Writings*, and *Instruments* in the Kings name, and not under their own Names——(which *Act* was afterward extended unto *Ordinations*, as appears by the Form of a Testimonial extant in *Sanders*'s Seditious Book, *De Schismate Anglicano*) and whereas the *Act* was repealed in the last year of Queen *Mary*, and did stand so repealed all the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, but was by the activity of some, and the incogitancy of others revived again in the first year of King *James*, but lay dorment all the Reign of that Prince, and during the first ten years of King *Charles* I. after which it was endeavoured to be set on foot by some disturbers of the Publick Peace; upon which, the King having it under the hand of his Judges, that the proceedings of the *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, &c. were not contrary to the Laws of the Land, in-

ſerted their Judgment about it in a *Proclamation* for indemnifying the *Biſhops*, and the ſatisfying of his loving Subjects in that Point; therefore Dr. *Heylyn* conſidering that what the Judges did was extrajudicial, and that the Kings *Proclamation* expired at his Death, ſolicited the concerns of the Church in this Affair, *viz.* that the *Act* ſo paſſed, as before is ſaid, in the firſt of King *James*, might be repealed, that ſo the *Biſhops* might proceed as formerly in the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction without fear or danger. Thirdly, Whereas in the 16. year of *Charles* I. there paſſed an *Act* that no *Arch-Biſhop, Biſhop, &c.* ſhould miniſter any Corporal Oath unto any *Church-Warden*, *Sideman*, or any other perſon whatſoever, with many other things whereby the whole *Epiſcopal* Juriſdiction was ſubverted (except *Canonical* Obedience only) and all proceedings in Courts *Eccleſiaſtical* in Cauſes *Matrimonial*, *Teſtamentory*, &c. were weakened, and all *Epiſcopal* Viſitations were

were made void as to the ordinary Puniſhments of *Hereſie, Schiſm, Non-conformity*, *Inceſt*, *Adultery* and other Crimes of *Eccleſiaſtical* Cognizance, therefore Dr. *Heylyn* ſtated the Caſe, and in a Petition drawn up by him, prayed, that for the reſtoring of the *Epiſcopal* Juriſdiction, the Clauſes of that *Act*, and the penalties thereunto annexed, might be wholly abrogated and annulled.

But the moſt remarkable Effort of his zeal for the Church, after the Kings Reſtauration, was the Application made by him to the great Miniſter of State in thoſe days, that there might be a *Convocation* called with the Parliament. What good effects were produced by his endeavours in that particular, let the Reader judg, when he has peruſed the following *Letter*, with which the Reverend *Doctor* ſaluted that powerful *Stateſman*.

Right Honorable and my very good Lord,

'I Cannot tell how welcome or un-
'welcome this Addreſs may prove
'in regard of the greatneſs of the Cauſe
'and the low condition of the Party,
'who negotiates in it. But I am apt
'enough to perſuade my ſelf, that the
'honeſt zeal which moves me to it,
'not only will excuſe, but endear the
'boldneſs.

'There is, my Lord, a general
'Speech, but a more general Fear
'withal amongſt ſome of the Clergy,
'that there will be no *Convocation* cal-
'led with the following Parliament;
'which if it ſhould be ſo reſolved on,
'cannot but raiſe ſad thoughts in the
'hearts of thoſe, who wiſh the peace
'and happineſs of our *Engliſh Sion.*
'But being the Biſhops are excluded
'from their Votes in Parliament, there
'is no other way to keep up their Ho-
'nor and Eſteem in the eyes of the
people,

'people, but the retaining of their 'places in the *Convocation*. Nor have 'the lower Clergy any other means to 'ſhew their duty to the King, and 'keep that little freedom which is left 'unto them, than by aſſembling in 'ſuch Meetings, where they may ex-'erciſe the Power of a *Convocation*, in 'granting *Subſidies* to his Majeſty; tho 'in nothing elſe. And ſhould that 'Power be taken from them, according 'to the conſtant (but unprecedented) 'practice of the late Long Parliament, 'and that they muſt be taxed and ra-'ted with the reſt of the Subjects with-'out their liking and conſent, I cannot 'ſee what will become of the firſt *Ar-'ticle* of *Magna Charta*, ſo ſolemnly, 'ſo frequently confirmed in Parliament, 'or what can poſſibly be left unto them 'of either of the Rights or Liberties 'belonging to an *Engliſh Subject*.

'I know 'tis conceived by ſome, that 'the diſtruſt which his Majeſty hath 'in ſome of the Clergy, and the Diffi-'dence which the Clergy have of one

'another, is looked on as the principal
'cauſe of the *Innovation*: For I muſt
'needs behold it as an *Innovation*, that
'any Parliament ſhould be called with-
'out a meeting of the Clergy at the
'ſame time with it. The firſt year of
'King *Edward* VI. Qu. *Mary*, and Qu.
'*Elizabeth* were times of greater diffi-
'dence and diſtraction, than this pre-
'ſent Conjuncture. And yet no Parlia-
'ment was called in the beginning of
'their ſeveral Reigns, without the
'company and attendance of the *Con-*
'*vocation*, tho the intendments of the
'State aimed then at greater alterati-
'ons in the face of the Church, than
'are now pretended or deſired. And
'to ſay the truth, there was no danger
'to be feared from a *Convocation*, tho
'the times were tickliſh and unſettled,
'and the Clergy was divided into
'Sides and Factions, as the caſe then
'ſtood, and ſo ſtands with us at
'this preſent time. For ſince the Clergy
'in their *Convocations* are in no Autho-
'thority to propound, treat, or con-
clude

'clude any thing (more than the paſ-
'ſing of a *Bill* of *Subſidies* for his
'Majeſties uſe) until they are impow-
'red by the Kings *Commiſſion*, the King
'may tie them up for what time he
'pleaſes, and give them nothing but
'the opportunity of entertaining one
'another with the news of the day.
'But if it be objected, that the *Com-*
'*miſſion* now on foot for altering and
'explaining certain paſſages in the Pub-
'lick *Liturgy*, that either paſs inſtead
'of a *Convocation*, or elſe is thought to
'be neither competable nor conſiſtent
'with it; I hope far better in the one, and
'muſt profeſs that I can ſee no reaſon in
'the other. For firſt, I hope that the ſe-
'lecting of ſome few Biſhops and other
'learned men of the lower Clergy to
'debate on certain Points contained in
'the *Common-Prayer-Book*, is not inten-
'ded for a *Repreſentation* of the Church
'of *England*, which is a Body more
'diffuſed, and cannot legally ſtand
'bound by their *Acts* and *Counſels*.
'And if this *Conference* be for no other
pur-

'purpoſe, but only to prepare matter 'for a *Convocation* (as ſome ſay it is 'not) why may not ſuch a *Conference* 'and *Convocation* be held both at once? 'For neither the ſelecting of ſome lear-'ned men out of both the *Orders* for 'the compoſing and reviewing of the 'two *Liturgies* digeſted in the Reign 'of King *Edward* VI. proved any hin-'drance in the calling of thoſe *Convo-'cations*, which were held both in the 'ſecond and third, and in the fifth and 'ſixth of the ſaid Kings Reign. Nor 'was it found that the holding of a '*Convocation* together with the firſt 'Parliament under Queen *Elizabeth*, 'proved any hindrance to that *Confe-'rence* or *Diſputation* which was de-'ſigned between the Biſhops and ſome 'learned men of the oppoſite parties. 'All which conſidered, I do moſt hum-'bly beg your Lordſhip to put his Ma-'jeſty in mind of ſending out his *Man-'dates* to the two *Arch Biſhops* for 'ſummoning a *Convocation* (according 'to the uſual Form) in their ſeveral

Pro-

'*Provinces*, that this poor Church may
'be held with ſome degree of Venera-
'tion, both at home and abroad. And
'in the next place, I do no leſs humbly
'beſeech your Lordſhip to excuſe this
'freedom, which nothing but my zeal
'for Gods glory and my affection to
'this Church could have forced from
'me. I know how ill this preſent of-
'fice does become me, and how much
'fitter it had been, for ſuch as ſhine in a
'more eminent Sphere in the holy *Hie-*
'*rarchy* to have tendered theſe Parti-
'culars to conſideration. Which ſince
'they either have not done, or that no
'viſible effect hath appeared thereof, I
'could not chuſe but caſt my poor
'Mite into the Treaſury; which if it
'may conduce to the Churches good, I
'ſhall have my wiſh; and howſoever
'ſhall be ſatisfied in point of Conſci-
'ence, that I have not failed of doing
'my duty to this Church, according
'to the light of my underſtanding;
'and then what happens unto me ſhall
'not be material. And thus again moſt
hum-

'humbly craving pardon for this pre-
'ſumption, I kiſs your Lordſhips hands,
'and ſubſcribe my ſelf

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servant to be commanded

Peter Heylyn.

Having thus ſurveyed the moſt important Occurrences of Dr. *Heylyn*'s Life, I doubt not but every judicious and impartial Reader will be convinced at once of his vaſt Abilities and Acquirements in the large Circle of Learning and Sciences, of his immovable Integrity in the Proteſtant Religion, and of his indefatigable Induſtry and Service to the juſt Intereſts both of the Crown and Mitre. For tho I will not ſay as St. *Paul* does of his Son *Timothy*, that there was *no man like-minded*, yet no one had more hearty and unbiaſſed affections, no man did more *naturally*

care

care for this Church and Kingdom than Dr. *Heylyn*; and at that time too, when he expected nothing for his pains and induſtry, but all the miſeries and miſchiefs, which armed Malice and ſucceſful uſurp'd Tyranny could inflict upon him. Preach indeed he could not in thoſe days of danger and perſecution. But he plentifully made up that unavoidable omiſſion by his Writings: through all which there runs ſuch a native plainneſs and elegancy, as can be parallel'd in very few of the Writers of that Age he lived in. In all his Books his Stile is ſmooth and maſculine, his Sence full and copious, his Words plain and intelligible, his Notions numerous and perſpicuous, his Arguments pertinent, ponderous and convincing. Thoſe Accompliſhments which rarely concentred in any Individual, were in Doctor *Heylyn*, in their eminency and perfection, *viz.* a ſolid Judgment, an acute Wit, a rich teeming Fancy, and a memory ſo prodigiouſly quick and tenacious, that it was the Store-houſe of

of moſt Arts and Sciences. And which is moſt wonderful, it was not impaired either by Age or by Afflictions. For many of thoſe learned Volumes that have his learned Name annexed to them, were writ when his Sight failed him. And here I cannot forget that deſerved Character, which a right learned man, and now an eminent Prelate of our Church beſtowed on him, *viz.* That Dr. *Heylyn never writ any Book, let the Argument be never ſo mean and trivial, but it was worthy of a Scholars reading.* And another very celebrated *Profeſſor* (now) in *Oxon,* paying him the reſpects of a Viſit at *Abingdon,* returned home with the profoundeſt Admiration of his incomparable Abilities, ſaying, *That he never heard any* Doctor *of the* Chair *deliver his Judgment more copiouſly and perſpicuouſly upon any Subject, than our* Doctor *did upon thoſe various Theological Points, that were propoſed to him.* Inſomuch that what *Livie* affirmed of *Cato,* might without any injury to Truth be affirmed of this

this Reverend perſon, *Natum ad id diceres, quodcunque ageret.*

And 'tis juſt matter of wonder, how any Scholar that had ſo many Sickneſſes and Avocations from the *Muſes* in his Childhood and Youth, and that was incumbred with the burthen of ſo many ſecular buſineſſes in his middle Age, ſhould arrive to ſuch vaſt knowledg and improvements. For he was a *Critick* (and that no vulgar one) both in the *Greek* and *Latine* Languages: A polite *Humaniſt*, being exactly acquainted with the beſt *Poets*, *Orators* and *Hiſtorians*: He was alſo an excellent *Poet*; but a more able Judg of it in others, than a practiſer of it himſelf. *Philoſophy* he ſtudied no farther, than as it was ſubſervient to nobler Contemplations. But as for *Hiſtory*, *Chronology*, and *Geography*, they were as familiar to him, as the Tranſactions of one months buſineſs can be to any private perſon. And that *Divine* is yet to be named, whoſe knowledg did exceed Dr. *Heylyn's* in the *Canon*, *Civil*, *Statute*,

Statute, or *Common* Laws: To the profeſſion of which laſt if he had betook himſelf, few men in the Nation would have exceeded him either in Fame or Eſtate.

In all things that were either ſpoke or writ by him, he did *loqui cum vulgo*, ſo ſpeak as to be underſtood by the meaneſt Hearer, and ſo write as to be comprehended by the moſt vulgar Reader. "It is true indeed (as he himſelf obſerves) "that when there is ne- "ceſſity of uſing either "*Terms* of *Law*, or *Logical* Notions, "or any other words of *Art*, an Au- "thor is then to keep himſelf to ſuch "*Terms* and *Words*, as are tranſmitted "to us by the Learned in their ſeveral "Faculties. But to affect *new Notions*, "and indeed *new Nothings*, when there "is no neceſſity to invite us to it, is a "Vein of writing which the two great "Maſters of the *Greek* and *Roman* Elo- "quence had no knowledg of. But "many think, that they can never ſpeak elegantly

Obſerv. on the Hiſt.---*page* 2.

"elegantly, nor write ſignificantly, ex-
"cept they do it in a language of their
"own deviſing, as if they were aſha-
"med of their Mother-Tongue, and
"thought it not ſufficiently curious to
"expreſs their fancies. By means where-
"of more *French* and *Latine* words
"have gained ground upon us ſince
"the middle of Queen *Elizabeth*, than
"were admitted by our Anceſtors
"(whether we look upon them as the
"*Britiſh* or *Saxon* Race) not only ſince
"the *Norman*, but the *Roman* Con-
"queſt. A folly handſomly derided in
"an old blunt *Epigram*, where the
"ſpruce Gallant thus beſpeaks his
"Page, or Laquey

Diminutive and my defective Slave,
Reach my Corps Coverture immediately:
'Tis my complacency that Veſt to have,
T' inſconce my perſon from Frigidity.
The Boy believed all Welſh *his Maſter ſpoke,*
Till rail'd in Engliſh, *Rogue go fetch my Cloak.*

And yet this ſimplicity and plainneſs of writing is the true cauſe, why ſo many were heretofore and are ſtill ſcandalized at the *Doctors* Books. But let the Reader attend to him whilſt he pleads for himſelf: "The truth is, I never voluntarily engaged my ſelf in any of thoſe publick Quarrels, by which the Unity and Order of the Church of *England* hath been ſo miſerably diſtracted in theſe later times. Nor have I lov'd to run before or againſt Authority; but always took the juſt Counſels and Commands thereof for my ground and warrant: which when I had received, I could not think that there was any thing left on my part, but *obſequii gloria*, the honor of a chearful and free obedience. And in this part of my obedience, it was my lot moſt commonly to be employ'd in the *Puritan* Controverſies; in managing of which, altho I uſed all *equanimity* and temper which reaſonably could

Pref. to *Theol. Vet.*

"could be expected (the argument and "persons against whom I writ being "well considered) yet I did thereby so "exasperate that prevailing party, that "I became the greatest object of their "spleen and fury.

When the Jewish Libertines could not resist the wisdom, and spirit, and excellence of Elocution with which St. *Stephen* defended himself and blessed Saviour, we find in the next *Chapter*, that his enemies deserted all rational arguings, and betook themselves to acts of the most inhumane violence; first *gnashing upon him with their teeth*, and then assaulting him with stones. Add the truth is, Dr. *Heylyn* had few other answers returned to the many learned Volumes written by him, besides vollies of audacious and virulent slanders to wound his name, and to hinder easie and credulous persons from perusing of his Books. He tells one, who called him the *Primipilus*, or *chief of the Defenders* of Prelacy, that

Acts 6. 10.

altho he did ſometimes put vinegar in his Ink to make it quick and operative, as the caſe did require, yet there was nothing of ſcurrility or malice in it; nothing that ſavoured of uncharitableneſs, or of ſuch bitter reproaches, as he was unjuſtly charged with. When he met with ſuch a Fire-brand as Mr. *Burton*, it was not to be expected, that he ſhould pour oil upon him to increaſe the flame, and not bring water to quench it, whether foul or clean. And when he met with other unſavory pieces, it was fit that he ſhould rub them with a little ſalt to keep them ſweet. The good *Samaritan*, when he took care of the wounded paſſenger, is ſaid to have poured into his wounds both *Oil* and *Wine*, i. e. *Oil* to cheriſh and refreſh it, and *Wine* to cleanſe it; *Oleum quo foveatur, vinum quo mordeatur*. He had not been a skilful Chirurgeon, if he had done otherwiſe. And the *Doctor* being to contend with ſo many and malicious Adverſaries, had

Cert. Epiſt. 31.

had been a very unwary writer, had he made no diſtinction, but accoſted them all after one and the ſame manner. The grand *Exemplar* of Sweetneſs, Candor and Ingenuity, uſed the ſevereſt invectives againſt the hypocritical *Scribes* and *Phariſees*. Certainly one Plaiſter is not medicinal to all kind of ſores; ſome of which may be cured with Balm, when others more corrupt aud putrified, do require a Lancing. And thus did this Reverend man deal with the enemies of the King and Church; inſomuch that he received thanks from the Miniſters of *Surrey* and *Bucks* (in the name of themſelves and that party) for his fair and reſpectful language to them, both in his Preface to his *Hiſtory of the Sabbath* and concluſion of the ſame. To conclude, unleſs good words may receive pollution by confuting bad principles, and deſcribing bad things, nothing of any rude or uncharitable language can be found in any of the Writings of Dr. *Heylyn*.

But as all men have not abilities to write Books, ſo neither to paſs ſentence on them, when written. And yet whatever hard cenſures the *Doctors* Books have met with in the world, I am perſuaded his moſt inveterate enemies who will have but ſo much patience as to peruſe impartially this Account given of his Life, will believe that one who had acted, written and ſuffered ſo much in the defence of the King and Church, might have met with ſome Rewards or Reſpects in ſome meaſure ſuitable to his merits. But God Almighty and wiſe Providence had otherwiſe ordered the Event of things; purpoſing (no doubt) that this excellent perſon, who had for the greateſt part of his pilgrimage encountred with the ſpite and threatnings, oppoſitions and perſecutions of thoſe who had ſubverted Monarchy in the State, and Order and Decency in the Church, (ſhould (notwithſtanding the Kings Reſtauration) have adminiſtred to him another Trial of his paſſive Fortitude;

and

and that was to wreſtle with the neglects and ingratitude of his Friends. Indeed ſome Right Reverend Fathers in the Church (amongſt whom Biſhop *Couſins* ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence) proteſted not their wonder only, but their grief, that ſo great a Friend and Sufferer for the Royal Family and Church, ſhould like the wounded men in the Goſpel, be *paſſed by* both by Prieſt and Levite, and have no recompence for his paſt Services, beſides the pleaſure of reflecting on them. But the *Stateſ-men* of thoſe days rank'd the *Doctor* with the *Milites emeriti*, the *old Cavaliers*, of whoſe Principles there could be no fear, and of whoſe Services there could be no more need. But notwithſtanding all the frowns of Fortune, yet he could ſay his *Nunc Dimittis* with more ſenſible joy and chearfulneſs, than he was able to do, for many of the precedent years; having the ſatisfaction to live, (I cannot ſay to ſee) till the King was reſtored to his Throne, and the Church to its Immu-

nities and Rights. *Yea, let them take all, forasmuch as my Lord the King is come again in peace unto his own House.* The *Doctor* had nothing given him, but what neither Law nor Justice could detain from him; and that was the former Preferments that he had in the Church, from the profits and possession of which he had been kept above seventeen years. And with those he contentedly acquiesced; and not unlike some of the old famous *Romans*, after they had done all the Services they could for their Country, returned home to their poor Wives, and little Farms, yoking again their Oxen for the Plough, when they had fettered their enemies in Chains. Above all, this excellent Scholar enjoyed the inward peace and tranquillity of his own mind; in that he *fought a good fight, kept the Faith, finished his course*, discharged his Duty and Trust, and had been *counted worthy to suffer the loss of all things* (except his Conscience) for the best of Princes, and the most righteous

righteous of Cauſes in the world. And I pray God grant that an old obſervation which I have ſomewhere met withal, may not be verified either as to the concerns of Dr. *Heylyn*, or any of the old *Royalliſts*, viz. *It is an ill ſign of proſperity to any Kingdom, where ſuch as deſerve well, find no other recompence, than the peace of their own Conſciences.*

But alas! all theſe unkindneſſes and neglects were trivial to the irreparable loſs of his eye-ſight: of which he found a ſenſible and gradual decay for many years; and therefore was the better enabled to endure it. But about the year 1654. *tenebreſcunt videntes per foramina*; thoſe that looked out of the windows were darkened, and he was conſtrained to make uſe of other mens eyes (but not in the ſenſe as great perſons do) to guide him in the Motions of his Body; tho not in the Contemplations of his Mind.

Like good old *Jacob*, *his eyes were dim and he could not ſee:* but there was this Gen. 48. 10.

difference

difference between them, that the *Patriarchs* eyes were grown dim by reaſon of Age, but Dr. *Heylyns* were darken'd with Study and Induſtry. As the whole frame of his Body was uniform, comely and upright, his Stature of a middle ſize and proportion; ſo his Eye naturally was ſtrong, ſparkling, and vivacious; and as likely to continue uſeful and ſerviceable to its Owner, as any mans whatſoever. But by conſtant and indefatigable Study (which for many years he took in the night, being hurried up and down with a ſucceſſive crowd of Buſineſs in the day) either the *Cryſtalline* humor was dried up, or the *optick* Nerves became perforated and obſtructed; by which means the *Viſive* Spirits were ſtop'd, and an imperfect kind of *Cataract* was fixed in his eyes, which neither by inward Medicines nor outward Remedies could ever be brought to that maturity and conſiſtence, as to be fit for cutting. *Deteſtabilis eſt cæcitas, ſi nemo oculos perdiderit, niſi cui eruendi ſunt.* No puniſh-

punishment would be more dreadful than blindness, if none lost their eyes, but those that had them pulled out by tortures and burning basons. But this * *Sors Letho dirior omni*, this heavy affliction was by God laid upon Dr. *Heylyn* to exercise his Faith, to quicken Devotion, to try his Patience, and to prepare him for his merciful Rewards. *Animo multis modis variisque delectari licet, etiamsi non adhibeatur Aspectus, Loquor autem de docto homine & erudito, cui vivere est cogitare: Sapientis autem cogitatio non fermè ad investigandum adhibet oculos advocatos: etenim si nox non adimit vitam beatam, cur dies nocti similis adimat?* A man may recreate himself various ways, altho his sight fail, if he be knowing and learned: For a wise man will entertain himself with the noblest Contemplations without the help of his bodily organs; the life of such an one consisting more

* *Stalius* calls blindness so.

Tul. Tus. Quæst. lib. 5.

in Meditation than Action. And if a dark night cannot render our lives miſerable, why ſhould day-light be able to effect it, which to a blind man is no other than night? And that incomparable Author proceeds in preſenting his Reader with many inſtances of perſons that were highly uſeful in their Generations after they were deprived of their ſight. And Dr. *Heylyn*, as well as *Cnëus Auſidius*, having *Animum acutum*, was able to give advice to his Friends, to ſolve Doubts, to clear and defend Truth, to write Hiſtories, & *videre in literis*: For when *the windows* were quite *darkened*, *the Candle of the Lord*, his intellectual lamp, burnt more clear and bright within him. *Democritus* (as the Orator goes on) *luminibus amiſſis, Alba ſcil. & Atra diſcernere non poterat: at verò bona, mala; equa, iniqua; honeſta, turpia; utilia, inutilia; magna, parva poterat: & ſine varietate colorum licebat vivere beatè: ſine notione rerum non licebat.*——

Ibid.

Our

Our Reverend *Divine*, when he had loſt his eyes, could not ('tis true) diſcern white from black; but which was a more advantageous Speculation, he could diſcern good from evil; and juſt from unjuſt, and things lovely, and honeſt and profitable, from thoſe which were impure, unrighteous and incommodions. And a man may be happy, tho he does not diſcern variety of Colours, but he cannot be ſo, unleſs he his *ſenſes exerciſed to diſcern between good and evil.*

Another of the *Roman* Orators reckons up many advantages of blindneſs; telling us, *Cæcus non iraſcitur, non odit, non concupiſcit; & cum corpora noſtra vigorem de luminibus accipiunt, pereunt cum ſuis vitia cauſis*, i. e. one that is deprived of ſight has no objects to kindle his Anger, to precipitate his Revenge, to inflame his Lips; which muſt needs languiſh and decay, when thoſe bodily Members, through which they commonly gain admiſſion into our

Quintilian. in Declam.

our Souls, are impaired and become uſeleſs. And amongſt other advantages which the *Doctor* received from this heavy misfortune, he acquaints Mr. *Harington* of one: "For "looking on him (as he "writes) as a generous "and ingenuous Adverſa-

Certam. Epiſt. 310.

"ry, I ſhould count it no crime to be "ambitious of your ſociety and friend-"ſhip, had not my great decay of ſight "(beſides other infirmities growing on "me) rendred me more deſirous of a "private and retired life, than of ſuch "an agreeable converſation. And ſo apprehenſive was he of his approaching End, that he elſewhere tells his Reader, "The ſmall remainder of my "life will be better ſpent in looking "back upon thoſe *errors*, which the "infirmities of nature and other hu-"mane frailties, have made me ſubject "to, that ſo I may *redeem the time*, "*becauſe* my former *days were evil*. And I can truly ſay, that of thoſe ſhort *Memoirs* which he left behind him of the eleven

eleven first *Lustrums* of his Life (for they extended no further) he ever and anon interspersed some Religious Sentence or other, relating to those Vicissitudes, with which the Divine Providence was pleased to exercise him, to express the devout affections that he had toward his Maker and Redeemer; taking all occasions, according to the various accidents aud occurrences that happened unto him, to stir up his Soul, either to magnifie the Mercies, or acknowledg the Justice, or adore the Wisdom, or trust in the Power, or rely upon the promises of God. When *one of his Adversaries Sir *W. S.* was surprized with the *Advertisements*, that were so speedily made upon one of his Books, and twitted him with having *numerous Helpers*; conceiving it impossible, that a Treatise so accurately writ should be exposed to publick light within so short a space of time; the *Doctor* replies, "Tho I cannot say that I have many "*Helpers*, yet I cannot but confess in all

" all humble Gratitude, that I have one " great *Helper*, which is *inſtar omnium*, " even the Lord my God: *Auxilium* " *meum a Domino, my help cometh even* " *from the Lord which made Heaven and* " *Earth.* And I can ſay with the like " humble acknowledgments of Gods " mercies to me, as *Jacob* did, when he " was ask'd about the quick diſpatch " which he made in preparing *ſavoury* " *meat* for his aged Father, *Voluntas Dei* " *fuit ut tam citò occurreret mihi quod* " *volebam*, Gen. 27. 20. It is Gods good- " neſs and his only, that I am able to do " what I do.

That name is yet to be mentioned, that was ever loaded with more reproach and infamy than Dr. *Heylyn*'s. And he ever kept ſilence, unleſs it was when he was accuſed of groſs errors againſt any Fundamentals in Religion: For that he looked upon to be a ſelf-conviction; having that advice of St. *Hierom* frequently in his Writings, but oftener in his thoughts, *In ſuſpicione hæreſeos ſe nolle quenquem fore patientem.*

tem. But as for private whiſpers or bold calumnies, which reach'd only to the private concerns of his Name and Repute, they did not in the leaſt move him; having long learned with him in the old *Hiſtorian* (as he once told one of his friends) *civili animo laceratam exiſtimationem ferre*, to bear with an undiſturbed mind the greateſt calumnies which either the tongues or pens of malicious men could lay upon him. But when ever the concerns of Church or State in general, or his Friends in particular required his helping hand, then like the dumb Son of *Cræſus*, he found a Tongue (and a Pen too) tho no extremity of his own (unleſs in the Inſtance now mentioned) could remove him from his eſpouſed ſilence.

And as he had learned to contemn calumnies himſelf; ſo he endeavoured to fix the ſame reſolution in the poor ejected Clergy; thus writing to them, "You, "my Brethren, who have *Cert. Epiſtola.* Epiſt. Ded.

" been ſo long trained up in the School
" of patience; the ſuffering of Re-
" proaches, whether from the Tongue
" or Pen, from the Preſs or Pulpit, can-
" not be taken out as a new Leſſon,
" never learnt before. I know I ſpeak to
" men, who are not to be put in mind
" of that which you have learned in
" *Æſop's* Fables: In one of the *Morals*,
" you are taught to imitate thoſe gene-
" rous Horſes, *Qui latrantes caniculos*
" *cum contemptu prætereunt*, which uſe
" to paſs by barking Curs with neglect
" and ſcorn: Or to be told of that
" which you once read in
" the Annals of *Tacitus*,
" viz. *Convitia ſpreta exo-*
" *leſcunt*, Thoſe contu-
Tacit. Anal. l. 13.
" melies die ſooneſt, that are leaſt re-
" garded: or to be remembred of that
" memorable ſaying of St. *Cyprian*, who
" had ſuffered as much in this kind, as
" the moſt amongſt us; but having ſuf-
" fered no more from the tongues of
" his enemies, than Chriſt our Saviour
" did before from the hands of *Judas*,
he

" he thus encouraged himſelf and
" others by this golden ſentence, *Nec*
" *nobis turpe eſſe pati, quæ paſſus eſt*
" *Chriſtus; nec illis gloriam facere, quæ*
" *fecerit* Judas. Which paſſages, tho
" very full of uſe and comfort, how
" infinitely ſhort are they of that cele-
" ſtial conſolation, which our Saviour
" gives us in his Goſpel, pronouncing
" a *Bleſſing upon all thoſe who are perſe-*
" *cuted and reviled, and againſt whom*
" *all manner of evil is falſly ſpoken for*
" *his name ſake*; aſſuring them, that it
" *ſhould be cauſe of gladneſs and rejoy-*
" *cing to them* in this preſent life, and
" of great reward in Heaven for the
" life to come. Let us therefore be-
" have our ſelves with ſuch Sobriety
" and Moderation, ſuch Piety and
" Chriſtian Candor, that the *ignorance*
" *of fooliſh men may be put to ſilence,*
" and that all thoſe who *ſpeak againſt*
" *us as evil-doers*, may be convicted of
" their faults and malicious ſpeaking,
" before God and man.——Let us en-
" tertain Fortune by the day, and pa-

"tiently ſubmit our ſelves to the ap-
"pointments of that heavenly Provi-
"dence, which powerfully diſpoſeth
"all things to the good of the Uni-
"verſe. So doing we ſhall ſhew our
"ſelves the Followers of that Lamb of
"God, who opened not his mouth be-
"fore the Shearers; the Scholars of
"that gracious Maſter, who when he
"was reviled, reviled not again, nor
"uſed any unbecoming ſpeeches in the
"midſt of his ſufferings.

Nor were theſe the only inſtances of ChriſtianGoodneſs,that were conſpicuous in this Reverend perſon. His Charity was more than verbal or perſuaſive. For not to enlarge upon thoſe particular Teſtimonies of his Liberality to private Chriſtians in relieving their Wants, as well as reſcuing them from their Errors and evil Principles (of which there might be given conſiderable Inſtances) thoſe publick demonſtrations of his Bounty and Generoſity in contributing to the neceſſities of his Prince, not only *to his power, but beyond*

yond his power, ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. For firſt in the year 1639. when King *Charles* I. began his Journey againſt the *Scots*, the *Engliſh* Clergy by means of Arch-Biſhop *Laud* (but firſt thought on and propoſed by Dr. *Heylyn*) were aiding and aſſiſting to his Majeſty in their ſpeedy and liberal Contributions; and the *Doctor* for his Parſonage of *Alresford* gave 50 *l.* for *South-Warnb.* 20 Marks; and at that time he was in the Firſt-Fruits for it. He was the very firſt of of the Clergy that ſubſcribed in *Hampſhire,* and his example proved ſo powerful, that in that very County, the ſum of what was given by the Clergy amounted to no leſs than 1348 *l.* 2 *s.* 4 *d.* In the year 1642. when the War was actually begun, he attending upon his Royal Maſter at *Reading*, made a *Preſent* to him of Money and Plate, to the value of 100 *l.* Neither was his liberal hand defective in ſome other Inſtances of Bounty; for *An.Dom.* 2634. he gave 20 *l.* toward the repairing of

S. *Pauls* Church. And after the return of King *Charles* II. tho by the neglect of his Friends he was rendred an object of ſcorn and triumph to his Enemies, yet he gave in the Royal Benevolence 50 *l.* for his Parſonage of *Alresford*, beſides his ſhare of 1000 *l.* as he was *Prebendary* of *Weſtminſter*.

And that which enabled him to do theſe and many other ſuch Charitable acts, was an honeſt Providence or Thrift; that being (as one calls it) *the Fuel of Magnificence*. And certainly our Churches, with other Monuments of Honor, that are in this and other Nations erected to the Worſhip of God and the benefit of mankind, were no more built by the riotous prodigal Spend-thrift, than by the penurious Mammoniſt.

Temperance is the common Attendant of Frugality: in the exerciſe of which Virtue, the *Doctor* was a perfect Chriſtian Philoſoſopher. For in what ever he eat or drank, he confined himſelf to ſimple nouriſhments, deſigning only

only to satisfie natures necessities; but never irritating his Appetite with any artificial Delicacies either of Meat or Drink. And of all the calumnies with which his Reputation was sullied and aspersed, none of his virulent Enemies had the confidence ever to charge him either with incontinency or insobriety. For he never gratified or diverted himself in any wanton behaviour or brutish desires. And the only reason that induced him so soon to forsake the Seat of the Muses and enter into the state of Marriage, was to avoid all unchast and impure inclinations, and to be possessed of an habitual chastity of mind, as well as of body. To preserve which, he had not only a continual watchfulness over his Appetite, being never seen raised by Drink beyond his usual chearfulness; but like the holy Apostle he was

in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often. 2 Cor. 11. 27.

His Study was seldom without his compa-

ny, except his Meals, or neceſſary buſineſs, or the Rules of Civility obliged him to take his leave of it. Little or no exerciſe was allowed by him for his bodily health, except walking in his Houſe or Garden; and then he was digeſting and fixing thoſe Notions and Obſervations in his mind, which he had before read, or cauſed to be read to him. His Faſtings or Abſtinencies were not only very frequent, but ſo long and tedious, that his bodily Pſal. 32. 4. *moiſture was turned into the drought of* Summer; and his digeſtive faculty became ſo debilitated and depraved, that he was very often ſubject unto Fevers. And perhaps the ſeverity and frequency of his Faſtings might be the cauſe of his little and ſhort Angers, which were quickly raiſed and as ſpeedily ſtill'd and calmed in him; and were alſo rendred very tolerable unto thoſe on whom they lighted, not only by the ſhortneſs of their continuance, but by the wonderful goodneſs of his Nature, which

which expreſs'd it ſelf (as in many other things, ſo) in an habitual pleaſantneſs and chearfulneſs of converſation, and a tender compaſſion to all perſons that groaned under the weight of any Trouble or Affliction.

The Son of *Syrach* reſembles him, that *regardeth dreams, to one that catcheth at a ſhadow, and followeth after the wind*, And he gives a reaſon, *For dreams have deceived many, and thoſe have failed that have put their truſt in them.* But notwithſtanding his decrying of Dreams as vain and fooliſh; yet in the very ſame Chapter he intimates, that *if they be ſent from the moſt High in our Viſitation, we may then ſet our hearts upon them.* And ſuch a Dream as this had our Reverend *Doctor* of his approaching End. For on *Saturday* night before his fatal Sickneſs, he had this Dream, *viz.* That being in an extraordinary pleaſant Place, and admiring the beauty and glory

Ecclus. c. 34. 2, 7.

Verſe 6.

glory of it, he ſaw King *Charles* I. his Martyr'd Maſter, and heard him ſpeaking to him in theſe words, *viz.* Peter, *I will have you buried under your Seat at Church, for you are rarely ſeen but there, or in your Study.* This Dream he related to his Wife the very next morning, telling her it was extraordinary and ſignificant, and deſired her that his Burial might be exactly according to it. On the *Monday* he purchaſed an Houſe in the *Almonry*, and the ſame day had the Writings Sealed and the Money paid; and at night told his dear Companion, that he had bought that Houſe on purpoſe near the *Abbey*, that ſhe might be near the Church, and ſerve God after his Copy and Example. And renewing the charge to her, he went to Bed in as good bodily health, as he had done before for many years; but after his firſt ſleep, he found himſelf taken with a violent Fever, occaſioned (as was conceived by his Phyſician) by eating of a little *Tanſey* at Supper. It ſeized him,

May

May 1. 1662. and deprived him of his underſtanding for ſeven days: the eighth day he died; but for ſome hours before had the uſe of his Faculties reſtored to him, telling one of the *Vergers* of the Church, who came to him; *I know it is Church-time with you, and this is* Aſcenſion-day, *I am aſcending to the Church triumphant, I go to my God and Saviour, into Joys Celeſtial, and to Hallelujahs Eternal.* He died in his great *Climacterical* upon *Aſcenſion-day* 1662. when our Bleſſed Saviour *entred into his Glory,* and as a Harbinger went to *prepare his place* for all his faithful Followers and Diſciples.

The *Synagogus* annexed to Mr. *Herbert*'s Poems.

Mount, mount my Soul, and climb, or rather fly,
With all thy force on high.
Thy Saviour roſe not only, but aſcended,
And he muſt be attended,

Both in his Conqueſt and his Triumph too
His Glories ſtrongly woo
His Graces to them, and will not appear
In their full luſtre, until both be there.

Where he now ſits not for himſelf alone,
But that upon his Throne,
All his Redeemed may Attendants be,
Rob'd and Crown'd as he.
Kings without Courtiers are lone men, they ſay;
And do'ſt thou think to ſtay
Behind on earth, whilſt thy King Reigns in Heaven?
Yet not be of thy happineſs bereaven.

Nothing that thou canſt think worth having's here:
Nothing is wanting there,
That thou canſt wiſh to make thee truly bleſt,
And above all the reſt,
Thy Life is hid with God in Jeſus Chriſt,
Higher than what is high'ſt.

O gro-

O grovel then no longer here on earth,
Where miſery every moment drowns thy
mirth.

But towre, my Soul, and ſoar above the
Skies,
Where thy true Treaſure lies.
Tho with corruption and mortality,
Thou clogg'd and pinion'd be;
Yet thy fleet thoughts and ſprightly wi-
ſhes may
Speedily glide away.
To what thou canſt not reach, at leaſt
aſpire,
Aſcend, if not indeed, yet in deſire.

As for the Off-ſpring of his Loins, God gave him the bleſſing of the Religious man in *Pſalm* 128. his Wife being like a *fruitful Vine*, and his Children (being in all eleven) as *Olive-plants* encompaſſed his *Table*: nay he *ſaw his Childrens Children*, and (which to him was more than all) he *ſaw peace upon Iſrael*; i. e. the Church and State reſtored, quieted and eſtabliſhed after many

many concuſſions and confuſions, and a total Abolition of their Government.

But the iſſue of his Brain was far more numerous, than that of his Body; as will appear by the following Catalogue of Books written by him, *viz.*

Spurius, a Tragedy MSS. Written *An. Dom.* 1616.

Theomachia, a Comedy, MSS. 1619.

Geography, twice Printed at *Oxon*: in Quarto, 1621. 1624. and four times in *London*; but afterward in 1652. enlarged into a Folio, under the Title of *Coſmography*.

An Eſſay call'd *Auguſtus*, 1631. inſerted ſince into his *Coſmography*.

The Hiſtory of St. *George*, *London*, 1631. Reprinted 1633.

The Hiſtory of the *Sabbath*, 1635. Reprinted 1636.

An Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Lincolns* Letter to the Vicar of *Grantham*, 1636. Afterward twice Reprinted.

An Anſwer to Mr. *Burtons* two Seditious Sermons, 1637.

A ſhort

A ſhort Treatiſe concerning a Form of Prayer to be uſed according to what is enjoyned in the 55. *Canon*, *MSS.* Written at the requeſt of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

Antidotum Lincolnienſe, or an *Anſwer* to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Book, entituled, *Holy-Table, Name and Thing*, 1637. Reprinted 1638.

An uniform Book of Articles, fitted for Biſhops and Arch-Deacons in their *Viſitations*, 1640.

De Jure partialis Epiſcoporum, or containing the Peerage of the Biſhops. Printed in the laſt Collection of his Works, 1681.

A Reply to Dr. *Hackwel*, concerning the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt *MSS.* 1641.

A Help to Engliſh Hiſtory, containing a Succeſſion of all the Kings, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Biſhops, *&c.* of *England* and *Wales.* Written *An. Dom.* 1641. under the name of *Robert Hall*, but now enlarged under the name of Dr. *Heylyn.*

The

The *Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy*, London, 1641. And now Reprinted, 1681.

The *Hiſtory of Liturgies*, Written 1642. and now Reprinted, 1681.

A *Relation* of the Lord *Hopton*'s Victory at *Bodmin*.

A *View* of the Proceedings in the *Weſt* for a Pacification.

A *Letter* to a Gentleman in *Leiceſterſhire* about the Treaty.

A *Relation* of the Proceedings of Sir *John Gell*.

A *Relation* of the Queens return from *Holland*, and the Siege of *Newark*.

The +, or *Black Croſs*, ſhewing that the *Londoners* were the cauſe of the Rebellion.

The *Rebels Catechiſm*. All theſe ſeven Printed at *Oxon*, 1644.

An *Anſwer* to the Papiſts Groundleſs Clamor, who nick-name the Religion of the Church of *England* by the name of a *Parliamentary Religion*, 1644. and now Reprinted, 1681.

A *Relation* of the Death and Sufferings of *William Laud*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, 1644. The

The *Stumbling-Block* of Diſobedience removed. Written 1644. Printed 1658. and Reprinted 1681.

An *Expoſition* of the *Creed*. Folio. *London*, 1654.

A *Survey of France*, with an account of the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*. *London*, 1656. Quarto.

Examen Hiſtoricum, or a Diſcovery and Examination of the Miſtakes, Falſities and Defects in ſome modern *Hiſtories*: in two Books. *London*, 1659. Octavo.

Certamen Epiſtolare, or the *Letter-Combat* managed with Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Bernard*, Mr. *Hickman*, and *J. H.* Eſq; *London*, 1658 Octavo.

Hiſtoria Quinque-Articularis. Quarto. *London*, 1660. Reprinted, 1681.

Reſpondet Petrus, or, An *Anſwer* of *Peter Heylyn*, D. D. to Dr. *Bernards* Book, entituled, *The Judgment of the late Primate*, &c. *London*, 1658. Quarto.

Obſervations on Mr. Ham. L'Strange's

Hiſtory, on the Life of King *Charles* I. *London*, 1658. Octavo.

Extraneus Vapulans, or a Defence of thoſe *Obſervations*. *London*, 1658. Octavo.

A *Short Hiſtory* of King *Charles* I. from his Cradle to his Grave, 1658.

Thirteen Sermons; ſome of which are an Expoſition of the *Parable* of the *Tares*, *London*, 1659. Reprinted 1661.

The *Hiſtory of the Reformation*. *London*, 1661. Fol.

Cyprianus Anglicus; or the *Hiſtory* of the Life and Death of Arch-Biſhop *Laud*. Folio. *London*, 1668.

Aërius Redivivus, or the *Hiſtory* of the *Presbyterians*, from the year 1636, to the year 1647. *Oxon*. 1670. Fol.

His Monument has, ſince the erection of it, had violence offered it by ſome rude and irreligious hand; there being ever in the world thoſe ill men, who regard the Names of the Learned, neither whilſt they are living, nor when

when they are dead. It is erected on the *North-ſide* of the Abbey in *Weſtminſter*, over againſt the *Sub-Deans* Seat; and the Right Reverend Dr. *Earl*, then Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and afterward Biſhop of *Salisbury*, was pleaſed to honor the memory of his dear Friend with this following Inſcription.

Depoſitum mortale
Petri Heylyn S. Th. D.
Hujus Eccleſiæ Prebendarii & Subdecani,
Viri planè memorabilis,
Egregiis dotibus inſtructiſſimi,
Ingenio acri & fœcundo,
Judicio ſubacto,
Memoriâ ad prodigium tenaci;
Cui adjunxit incredibilem in Studiis patientiam;
Quæ, ceſſantibus oculis, non ceſſarunt.
Scripſit varia & plurima,
Quæ jam manibus teruntur;
Et argumentis non vulgaribus
Stylo non vulgari ſuffecit.

Con,

Conſtans ubique Eccleſiæ,
Et Majeſtatis Regiæ Aſſertor;
Nec florentis magis utriuſque
Quam afflictæ:
Idemque perduellium & Schiſmaticæ
Factionis
Impugnator acerrimus.
Contemptor Invidiæ,
Et animo infracto.
Plura ejuſmodi meditanti,
Mors indixit Silentium;
Ut ſileatur
Efficere non poteſt.

Obiit Anno Ætat. 63.

Poſuit hoc illi mœſtiſſima Conjux.

FINIS.